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GET
ALKING
BLUES

Roseanne Bites Man: Feminism in Prime Time

NATIONAL REVIEW

WILL WE ★ STOP ★ HUSSEIN?

AUG 2 2

By J. B. Kelly, Eliot A. Cohen, Brian Crozier, and the Editors

Also in this Issue:

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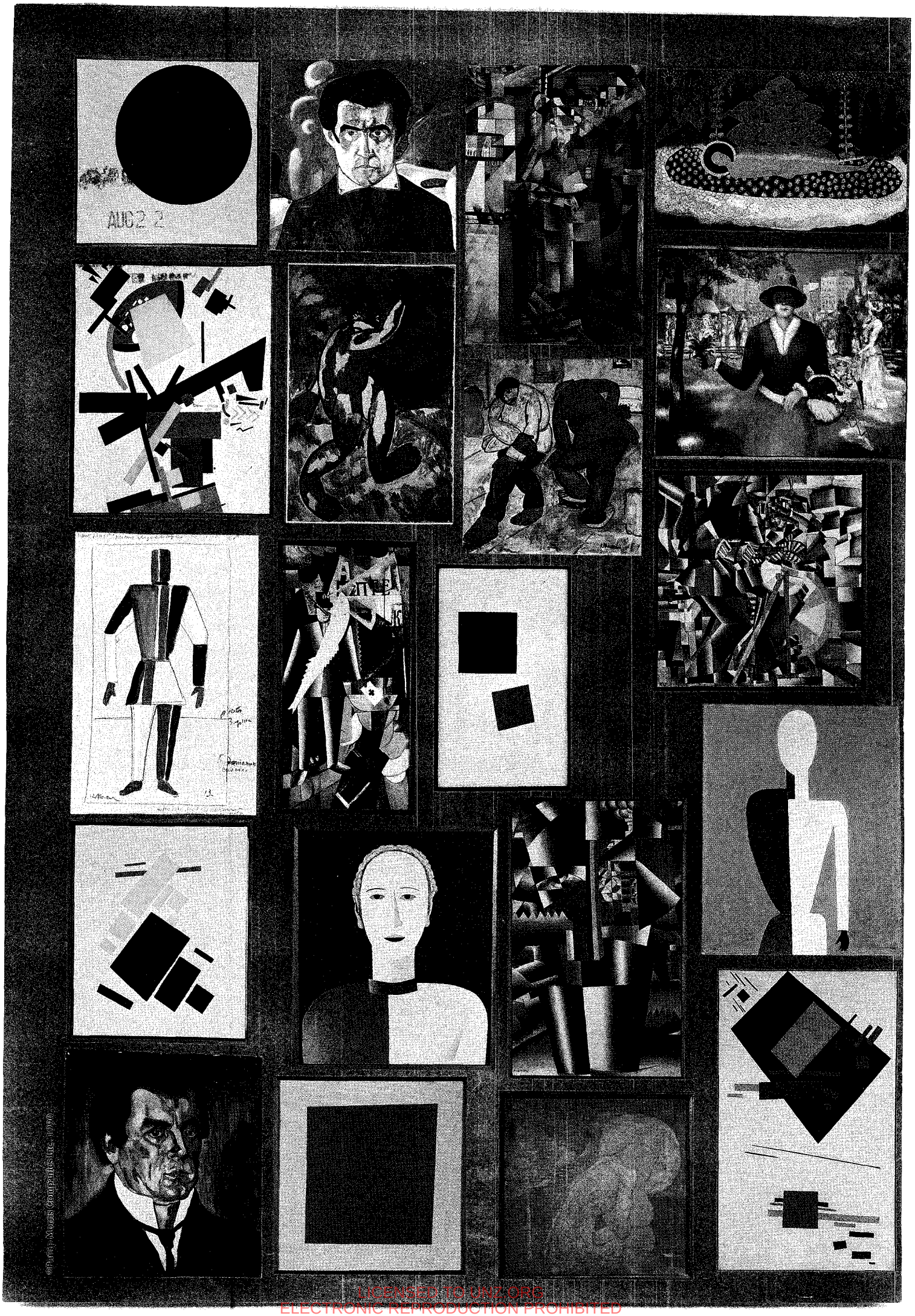

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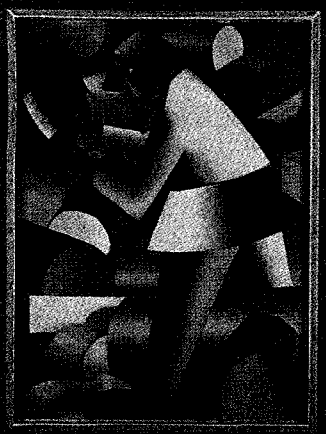

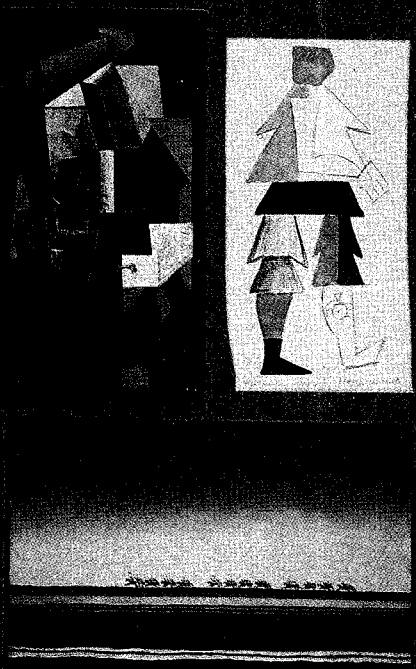

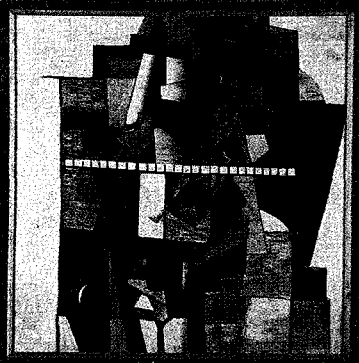

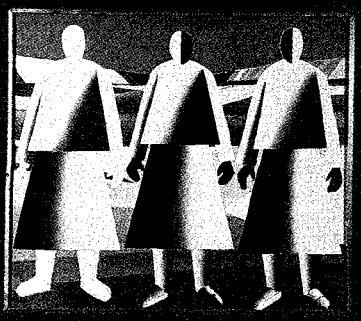

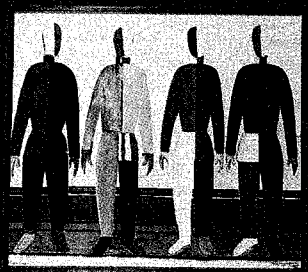

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NATIONAL REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 3, 1990 VOL. XLII, NO. 17

Cover Story

30 ***Will We Stop Hussein?***
J. B. Kelly points out that the Middle East will remain unstable until the West attacks the root of the problem: resistance to the rule of law. . . . The President's announced goal is limited, and **Eliot A. Cohen** shows that it's not enough: Saddam Hussein will triumph in the end unless he is removed. Just ask Churchill. . . . **Brian Crozier** gives the lowdown on Hussein's bloody climb to power.

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38 ***Roseanne Bites Man***
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40 **Michael Coren** presents Paul Veyne and Allen Lane's *Bread and Circuses* and Oliver Taplin's *Greek Fire*, two skillful classical histories, to disprove the academic Left's contention that "dead white males" constrict our understanding of ourselves. . . . **James Shenfield** agrees that *The Economic Consequences of Immigration* are substantial, but looks askance at Julian L. Simon's belief that more immigrants mean better immigrants. . . . With *Galileo's Children*, an account of Andrei Sakharov's battle with the Soviet state, his conversion from Marxism, and his differences with Solzhenitsyn, George Bailey has given us fresh insight into the nature of genius, dissent, and the Russian soul. **Russ Braley** gives full approval. . . . **Herb Greer** finds Peter Sellars's version of *The Magic Flute* uncommunicative; perhaps it had something to do with the omission of the dialogue. . . . Spike Lee's *Mo' Better Blues* begins with a racist premise and declines thereafter, sighs **John Simon**. . . . Started any good conversations lately? **Nika Hazelton** and her Delectations contestants offer a few tips.

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The Audit Bureau

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Asia Series

You can do business in Japan without shelling out a fortune.

For many companies, the biggest barrier to new markets has been the cost of business trips. Restaurants can be expensive, and even the smallest accommodations may carry oversized bills. Yet those willing to be a little adventurous will find that traveling comfortably in Japan doesn't require packing a suitcase full of yen.

Hop on the bus.

A $20 bus ride from Narita Airport may not strike you as a bargain, but compared to a $150 taxi, it is. The buses marked "Airport Limousine" stop at all the major hotels in Tokyo.

Sleep cheap.

Business hotels are a fairly new phenomenon. Catering primarily to Japanese businessmen, they're clean, functional, and conveniently located. Although vending machines replace amenities like room service, at $40 to $50 a night these hotels are a sound investment. Two major chains are the Tokyu Inn (tel. 03/406-0109) and the Washington (tel. 03/434-5211).

Food for naught.

It should come as no surprise that you'll save money eating where the locals eat. Good and reasonably priced restaurants can be found in department stores and the basements of office buildings. At lunch, ask for *teishoku*. It means special of the day, and includes rice, miso soup, salad, meat or fish, and dessert—all for around five dollars. *Ramenya* and *sobaya* (noodle shops) are perfect places for a quick and tasty meal.

Northwest notes.

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LETTERS

J. M. Keynes Revisited

It is depressing to see NATIONAL REVIEW succumb to simple-minded and discredited Keynesianism ["Mr. Bush's Somersault," "The Week," July 23]: "To slash federal spending on top of all this is to risk a recession; to slash spending and raise taxes is to ensure one." If correct, clearly 1981–82 should have been a boom, not a sharp recession, since the process was precisely the reverse: federal spending went up and taxes—or at any rate tax rates—went down. Why did that not "ensure" a boom?

Slashing federal spending enables the private economy to consume or invest funds the Federal Government would have spent. In addition, by lessening expected future taxes, it makes investment more attractive. Why should that "risk a recession"? The biggest slash in federal spending in recent decades was after World War II, when federal spending was cut by more than 60 per cent in three years. Keynesians predicted a major depression; the actual outcome was a minor postwar recession followed by a boom.

Similarly, raising taxes, if accompanied by slashing spending, would simply convert part of the hidden tax implicit in a deficit into an open tax. After all, the burden imposed on the taxpaying public is far better measured by total government spending than by that part of spending that is financed by what the accountants label taxes.

I strongly oppose raising taxes not because it would "risk" or "ensure" a recession, but because it would lead to higher, not lower, government spending. Large deficits are the only thing that has kept any kind of lid on government spending in recent years.

Milton Friedman
Senior Research Fellow
Hoover Institution
Stanford, Calif.

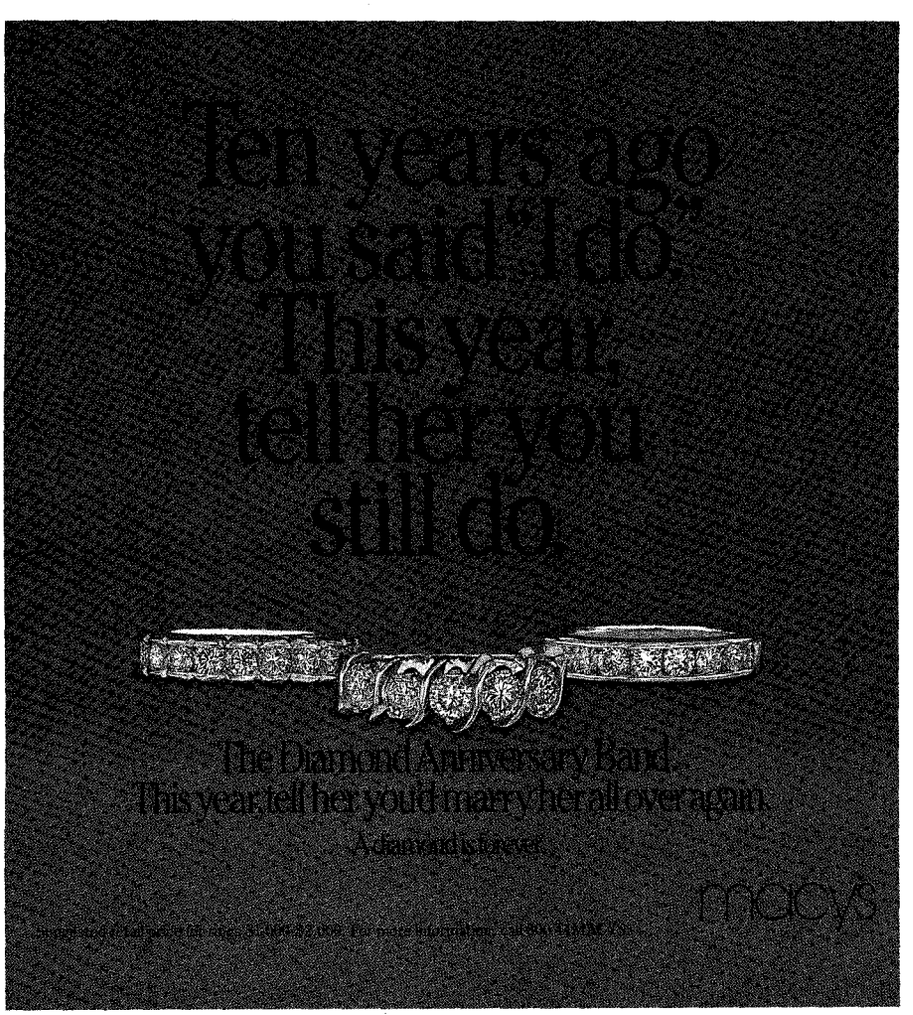
In marshalling our arguments against a tax increase we inadvertently stepped into a Keynesian dung heap. It was worth making a little mess to see the tax collector so effectively squelched as he has been by Professor Friedman. —ED.

Vivisecting an Old Notion

Jane Hughes's characterization of interactions between the animal-rights movement and the biomedical research establishment is typical of the polemics being distributed by the latter group ["Reigning Cats and Dogs," July 23]. Her article did NATIONAL REVIEW readers a disservice by failing to provide an accurate description of the animal-rights philosophy and the mounting scientific evidence that using animal models of human medical conditions seldom, if ever, is biologically justified.

The author dismisses a relevant moral philosophy with a few personal opinions on the uniqueness of humans and their special moral status. The case for animal rights is compelling enough to attract the active support of numerous philosophers, as well as physicians, psychologists, health professionals, veterinarians, biomedical researchers, educators, and other individuals who fully understand both "the scientific method" and "their place in the universe."

A myth has developed that vivisection and animal research are responsible for our present state of well-being and our future health and welfare. Current propaganda from the Department of Health and Human Services, the Foundation for Biomedical Research, and Congressional Animal Welfare Caucus are based on the principle of this big lie. Consider that the only comprehensive studies, conducted by medical epidemiologists, on our increased life expectancy since 1900 found that only 3.5 per cent of that improvement is attributable to medical research of any kind, with an even smaller percentage attributed to experiments involving animals. For those who seek the truth, both historical facts and current scientific evidence clearly indicate that the use of animals in biomedical research has made minimal contributions to the improvement of human health, and that our future health and welfare would be better served by a switch to


Ten years ago you said "I do."
This year, tell her you still do.
The Diamond Anniversary Band.
This year, tell her you'd marry her all over again.
A diamond is forever.

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more biologically appropriate and humane alternatives in both research and medicine.

John E. McArdle
Scientific Advisor
The American Anti-Vivisection Society
Jenkintown, Pa.

Pavilions of Propaganda

While Richard Grenier's piece ["The New Treason of the Clerks," "Books, Arts & Manners," July 23] was absolutely right concerning the issues it illuminated, it was, alas, dead wrong on the contents of the Walt Disney World EPCOT Center's American Pavilion. Grenier's comment that the pavilion's show, entitled "The American Adventure," is "an unrelieved indictment of the 'brutal cruelties' that the United States has inflicted on" various ethnic minorities is totally false, as is his description of the show as containing "no trace of Presidents Washington, Jefferson . . ."

In fact, the show contains robots enacting the roles of Jefferson writing the Declaration in consultation with Ben Franklin, Washington at Valley Forge, and such Presidents as Franklin and Teddy Roosevelt. The show also has speeches by Frederick Douglass, Nez Perce Chief Joseph, and Susan B. Anthony about how *positive* changes in attitudes are sweeping the nation.

But nowhere in this pavilion, nor for that matter at EPCOT, is there the reprehensible attitude of anti-Americanism that Grenier rightly condemns.

Dan Fendel
Los Angeles, Calif.

The national pavilions at Disney World are celebrations of each country's achievements, as evidenced by the Mexican, French, German, and Italian pavilions. Only in the American pavilion do we have elaborate displays of evil and oppressive things: slavery, brutal treatment of women, and shanty towns of the Great Depression. The current counterculture style is to hold up splendid American ideals, and then show how appallingly we have abused them. I suspect that Mr. Fendel has swallowed so much of this chronically critical attitude that he doesn't see it any more, which shows how far it has gone. —RG

Scores of Yanks

Frank Johnson, in his piece on Puccini, gives needed encouragement to those of us who believe that good music should be public fare ["Puccini Scores," July 23]. However, his line of demarcation (1926) for great melody gives short shrift to many gifted rhapsodists.

Consider such brilliant examples as Jerome Kern with "All the Things You Are"; the works of art that Louis Armstrong created on the simple blues chords with his instantaneous composition (improvisation)—"Muggles" and "West End Blues," to name two; and the continuous flow of masterly works that emanated from Duke Ellington—"Prelude to a Kiss," "Echoes of Harlem," "Diminuendo and Crescendo in Blue," and "Dusk," for example.

Mr. Johnson's comments were appropriate and welcome, but he really should have given more credit where it is due.

Llewellyn Watts III
Hightstown, N.J.

Dollars and Cells

How *NR* could feature a study promoting the burgeoning prison bureaucracy ["Crime Pays," "Right Data," June 25]—big government's big answer to crime—is beyond me.

Ed Rubenstein wants to build enough budget-busting prisons to raise the probability of imprisonment to the level it reached during the Eisenhower Administration—3.18 per cent. Does he seriously believe that potential criminals are more deterred by a 3 per cent chance of prison than by a 1 per cent chance?

During the Reagan Administration it would have cost taxpayers $11 billion to build enough prison cells to increase the imprisonment rate to that level.

Mr. Rubenstein attributes the modest decline in crime rates in the early 1980s to increased incarceration. Most experts have a more sanguine explanation: The baby boomers got older and less crime-prone. Both Mr. Rubenstein and the experts will have difficulty attributing the recent surge in reported crime (up 17 per cent from 1984 to 1988) to limited use of prisons: prison populations swelled by 36 per cent during that time.

Mr. Rubenstein also bemoans the country's overcrowded prisons, yet fails to mention the thousands upon thousands of non-violent prisoners—approximately 50 per cent of those incarcerated. We need prisons to keep dangerous offenders locked behind bars. But we need to get rid of the dreadful liberal social-engineering view that assumes we can house non-dangerous offenders in the dubious hospitality afforded by prisons and expect them, by the grace of social scientists, to be rehabilitated. Nonsense. Put them to work. Restitution has been a sound restorative-justice principle ever since God prescribed it from Mt. Sinai.

"Tough" election-year demands for more prisons ignores the real cause of this nation's crime epidemic. The U.S is not "soft on crime"—after all, we have doubled our prison population in the last ten years. No, crime results from the moral deterioration now stalking every sector of American society.

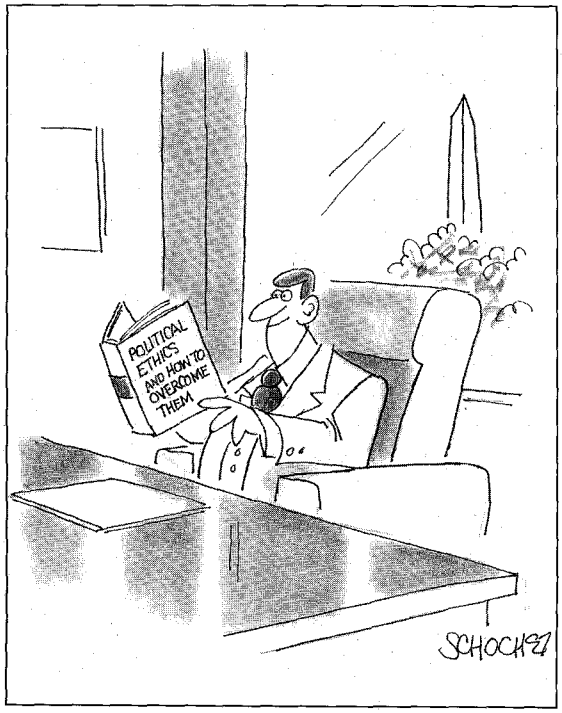
In a 1926 sermon delivered in Germany, Reinhold Niebuhr observed:

> Every one of our cities has a crime problem, not so much because the police are not vigilant as because great masses of men in an urban community are undisciplined and chaotic souls. There is something very pathetic about the efforts of almost every one of our lost cities to restore by police coercion what has been lost by the decay of moral and cultural traditions.

Niebuhr is right. What we need is more converts—not more convicts.

Charles W. Colson
Washington, D.C.

The legal profession (in New York City at least) seems to agree with Mr. Colson on the efficacy of conversion and rehabilitation. Why else would so many violent criminals—especially juveniles—be repeatedly arrested and released, freed to prey upon their communities once again? Most of us have long since realized that rehabilitation is a remote possibility, especially for repeat offenders. Conversion may be a practical impossibility when, as in many areas of New York City, parish priests fear for their lives. —ER



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FROM THE EDITOR

Moscow News

■ First Alice, now Oscar. NATIONAL REVIEW's recent visit to the Soviet Union jogged my memory of Oscar Wilde's short story *The Happy Hypocrite*, which recounts how a wicked and ugly man dons a mask of smiling virtue to woo a good and beautiful woman. Won over by her virtue, he confesses his deception and removes the mask—to reveal a countenance of shining goodness. The mask has become the man.

This touching tale does not quite capture the atmosphere of Soviet politics. Something like it is happening in Moscow, nonetheless. State institutions, superficially organized on democratic lines, which have been a mere façade for totalitarian Party rule since 1917, are suddenly developing a real life of their own. Meanwhile, the Party bodies that once exercised real power are being relegated almost to the status of private groups.

The Congress of People's Deputies (the "Soviet parliament"), for instance, has separated into various political factions which disagree vehemently, debate freely, and question the authorities sharply. On the other hand, at the recent Party Congress the once-omnipotent Politburo saw its responsibility for national policy transferred to a presidential cabinet on the American model. The façade is becoming the building.

■ This creeping constitutionalism is likely to accelerate as the elections draw near. New democratic political parties are born daily—but the party that seems at a loss is the Communist Party. It combines a majority of hard-liners, deeply unpopular, with a leadership of reformers who themselves would win no popularity contests.

Some temporary stability is provided by the fact that the hard-liners have no policy other than dislike of what is happening. But it is hard to imagine what kind of party platform they could all agree on, still harder to imagine their winning a majority in a genuinely free election. Maybe that is why one seasoned diplomat, discussing these constitutional changes, said bluntly: "The Communist Party is no longer in power."

■ In joining with Boris Yeltsin to endorse a sweeping program of free-market reforms, Mr. Gorbachev may have begun a possible realignment in which reformers of all stripes unite against the apparatchiks. But will any such program succeed? Given the Soviet economy's chaos, there can be no early success—perhaps no ultimate success. So what should the West do? We should provide technical assistance to establish free markets, invest where profits are not locked in rubles, tie further assistance directly to economic reforms, and firmly refuse to send aid of a general kind. Help to Mr. Gorbachev should finance the euthanasia of the system.

■ Something new is happening when the USSR condemns its client state for invading Kuwait, cuts off arms supplies to the Iraqi dictator, and supports the U.S. at the UN. The Soviet role in the Gulf crisis is not without its mysteries—what are the eight thousand Soviet advisors in Iraq *doing*? In general, however, it seems to conform to the "new thinking" which rejects ties to extremist Third World dictators and supports international order.

We need not weep with gratitude. The Soviet Union wants Western goodwill as a basis for potential Western subsidies. It will benefit as an oil producer if an embargo on Iraq lifts prices. And it is sufficiently detached from the military measures against Iraq to benefit from either Western failure or Arab hostility to the West.

Still, a Soviet foreign policy based upon prudent self-interest is an improvement on the previous ideological adventurism—and further testimony to the waning influence of ideology and Party power in Soviet life.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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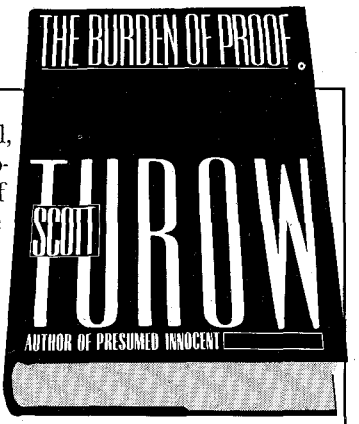
THE BOOK YOU'VE BEEN WAITING FOR

By the best-selling author of *Presumed Innocent*



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In 1987, Scott Turow's debut novel, *Presumed Innocent* rocked the publishing world as it became one of the most widely read books of the decade. Now Turow is back with another blockbuster, *The Burden of Proof*, and so is his non-traditional hero, Alejandro Stern.

"Sandy" is a successful, middle-aged lawyer in a mid-sized mid-Western city. He successfully defended Rusty Sabich in *Presumed Innocent*—but this time he has some problems of his own.

Most compellingly, there's his wife's mysterious suicide and his brother-in-law's involvement in securities fraud. As Sandy investigates the crime, he begins to suspect the swindle and the suicide are linked—and slowly realizes he must face some gut-wrenching truths about his life, his work and his family.

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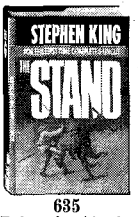

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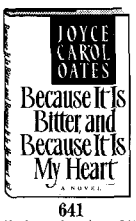

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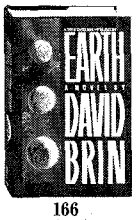

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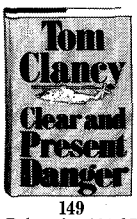

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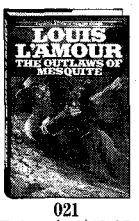

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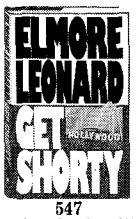

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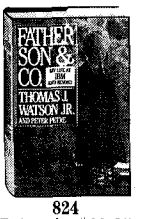

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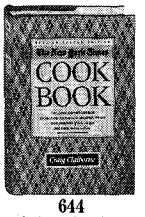

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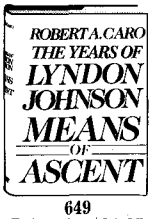

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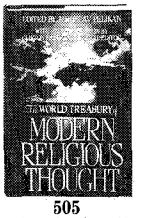

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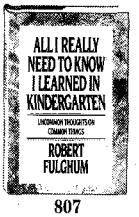

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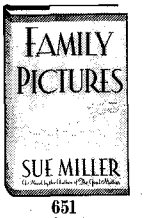

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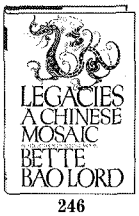

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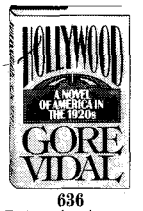

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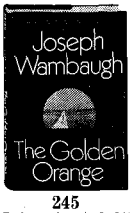

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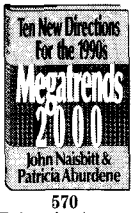

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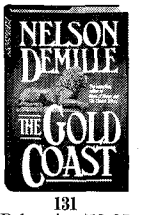

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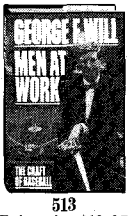

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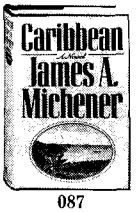

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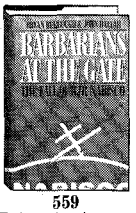

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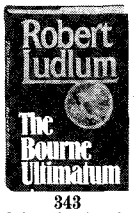

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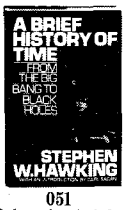

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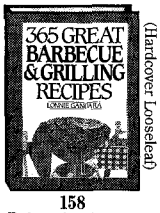

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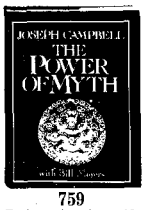

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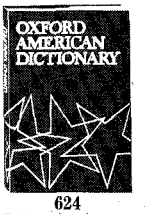

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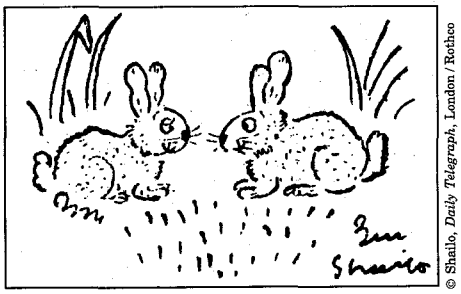
ON THE RECORD

■ IRAQ CRISIS: Cairo newspaper *Al-Ahram* reports **Saddam Hussein** executed 120 officers for refusing to participate in Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Hussein celebrated gaining power in 1979 by personally shooting 21 of his top colleagues, who were possible rivals. . . . Hussein's face appears on Baghdad billboards as both **Saladin** and King **Nebuchadnezzar**. . . . There was a total news blackout for 48 hours throughout Arab world after invasion, broken only by shortwave radio and satellite pickups from CNN. . . . Just months before Iraqi invasion, U.S. withdrew carrier from Indian Ocean, where one had been present continuously since Fifties. . . . Despite strong support of President **Bush**'s handling of Iraqi crisis, expect an "I told you so" from Congress when it returns in September. Many senators and congressmen have been pushing for sanctions against Baghdad for its use of chemical weapons against Kurds and for general human-rights violations. . . . Israeli Defense Minister **Moshe Arens** reported to U.S. Defense Secretary **Dick Cheney** that Iraq's effort to build nuclear weapons has been dispersed over five locations. Iraq has also deployed Soviet-made surface-to-air missiles on border with Jordan. . . . Lebanese Hezbollah terrorist **Hussein Musavi** has told West German magazine that there will be strikes against United States, Western Europe, and Israel, and that no more U.S. hostages will be released. . . . Norwegian officials report that forty MiG-27 fighter jets removed from Hungary by Soviets have been relocated to Kola Peninsula, already the region most heavily militarized by Soviets. . . . China has announced executions of hundreds of "counter-revolutionaries," just prior to Asian games, to open in Peking in September. Over one hundred in Shanghai, and 41 in Canton in one day.

■ First off the mark to register approval for Judge **David Souter** is Coalitions for America, instrumental in getting **Clarence Thomas** approved to fill Appeals Court seat vacated by Judge **Robert Bork**. Coalitions' **Tom Jipping** notes that Souter's "judicial philosophy is exactly as President Bush described it: interpreting, not legislating." . . . *Human Events* reports that former Attorney General **Edwin Meese** and his chief assistant, **Kenneth Cribb**, are highly impressed with Souter, even though **Bobbie Kilberg**, Bush aide cozy with feminist movement, informed Catholics for a Free Choice of her approval of Souter nomination.

■ ELECTION UPDATE: In Arizona, impeached former Gov. **Evan Mecham** is gaining on leader, **J. Fife Symington**, in GOP gubernatorial primary race. State Republican establishment cringes at prospect of Mecham victory. One-time Mecham antagonist *Arizona Republic* less harsh this time around. . . . In California, Republican Sen. **Pete Wilson** trails Democrat **Dianne Feinstein** 44 to 46 per cent in gubernatorial race, according to Political/Media Research poll. Negative campaigning against Mrs. Feinstein may be hurting Wilson. . . . According to early-August *Hartford Courant* poll, former Connecticut Sen. **Lowell Weicker**, running as Independent, leads with 37 per cent of vote over GOPer **John Rowland** (20 per cent) and Democrat **Bruce Morrison** (13 per cent). Rowland's GOP support has risen from 25 to 45 per cent. . . . In Democratic fight to oppose Florida GOP Gov. **Bob Martinez** in November, former Sen. **Lawton Chiles**'s lead over Rep. **Bill Nelson** is slimming. Both Democrats lead Martinez in *Miami Herald*/Mason-Dixon Research poll. . . . In Massachusetts, *Boston Globe*/WBZ poll shows **Frank Bellotti** has broken tie with Boston U. president **John Silber**, 38 to 30 per cent, in Democratic race for statehouse. Bellotti has successfully painted Silber as enemy of elderly. . . . Grassroots campaign in Colorado has placed on fall ballot an initiative which would limit to 12 years the time U.S. senators and congressmen from state could serve. Some ninety thousand signed petition. Conservative stalwart Sen. **William Armstrong** decided against third term, stating that 12 years in Washington is enough for one person.



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"Let's hold some 'two-plus-four' talks."

■ The National Organization for Women (NOW) has set up a Commission of Responsive Democracy to discuss formation of radical third party. Among members: failed presidential candidates **John Anderson** and **Barry Commoner**; **Rose Bird**, who lost her job as chief justice of California supreme court by recall petition; **Dolores Huerta** of **César Chavez**'s United Farm Workers; former Attorney General **Ramsey Clark**; former NOW President **Eleanor Smeal**; and **William Winpisinger**, one-time socialist head of the Machinists Union. . . . **Ralph Nader** is newest columnist of far-left *Mother Jones* magazine. . . . **Reed Irvine's** Accuracy in Media has asked Pulitzer Prize committee to withdraw 1932 award to **Walter Duranty**, *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow during **Stalin** era. In new book, *Stalin's Apologist*, **S. J. Taylor** documents Duranty's misreporting of atrocities of the Soviet leader in order to ingratiate himself. . . . *Playboy* asked CEOs if following could be trusted to portray news accurately: **Tom Brokaw**, 32 per cent; **Peter Jennings**, 29; **Ted Koppel**, 26; **Dan Rather**, 3. . . . Smithsonian Institution honored former Black Panther gun-runner and Marxist revolutionary **Angela Davis** as a "virtual icon to African-American men and women throughout America."

■ Earth First! activist denying role in burning of logging machine: "It wasn't me. I was home in bed with five witnesses."

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THE WEEK

■ That was *some* peace dividend!

■ The *New York Times* reports that many businesses are now requiring their employees to speak English, and in answer to your next question, the civil-rights goons are looking into the matter. It falls under the heading of National Origin, Discrimination on the Basis of, and/or Racism, Thinly Veiled. Wouldn't you know, there are federal laws on the subject: you have to prove the language requirement is job-related. While we believe that the U.S. Government should conduct its business in English, we also believe that every employer should be free to set the policy that seems to him most rational without having to account for it to anyone. And we don't think it should be federal policy to create Babel. Meanwhile, we pine for the day when a civil-rights bill will protect the 250 million Americans who are now being systematically deprived of their Ninth and Tenth Amendment freedoms.

■ In the wake of Andrew Young's loss in the Georgia Democratic gubernatorial primary, the Justice Department is challenging the constitutionality of Georgia's primary run-off system. Run-offs, it says, have a "chilling effect" on black political participation, since blacks who win pluralities in large fields often have trouble winning majorities in one-on-one races against whites. Young rejects this interpretation, maintaining, along with other Democratic politicians, that the run-off is a good way of ensuring that the party fields its most appealing candidate, no matter what his race. Justice isn't buying it, though, because it has discovered that the chief sponsor of the Georgia law back in 1964, one Denmark Groover, touted it as a way of frustrating "the Negro bloc vote." Original intent, anyone?

■ Ah, those congressional reformers. . . . The Senate version of the campaign-finance "reform" bill manages to increase the already extraordinary power of labor leaders by permitting them to ignore the Supreme Court's 1988 ruling in *Beck* v. *Communications Workers of America* (see "On the Right," page 55). In *Beck*, the Court ruled that a union could not force members to pay dues that would be used for political ends with which they disagree. Political spending by unions in the form of "soft money" (money that doesn't count against federal limits on donations because it goes for such things as phone banks, literature, and registration drives rather than going directly to the candidates) is double *all* PAC spending (by unions, businesses, and ideologues combined), and is thus the keystone of the unions' formidable Washington presence. By challenging labor's right to collect dues for other than collective-bargaining purposes, right-to-work and genuine campaign-reform forces had the unions on the run. Their solution? Newspeak legislation—written (according to Washington rumor) by Senator Howard Metzenbaum's staff, then offered by the normally right-to-work Senator David Boren. The legislation would greatly restrict members' access to information about their union's finances and their opportunities to recover improperly used funds, let the union define what is political spending, shift burdens of proof, and so on. Hey, extend this legislation to S&Ls, and Congress's troubles will be over.

■ NATIONAL REVIEW has been following with interest the efforts of Wisconsin State Representative Polly Williams to bring educational choice to poor families in the state. Earlier this year Mrs. Williams proposed a bill that in its first, experimental phase would give education vouchers worth up to $2,500 each to one thousand low-income students, permitting them to attend any non-sectarian school of their choice. For this effort at reform, Mrs. Williams earned six months of litigation from teachers' unions, bureaucratic resistance from the state school superintendent, and high-minded scoldings from Milwaukee's two liberal papers—all the usual advocates of innovative solutions to complex problems. Superintendent Herbert Grover even challenged the plan on the somewhat desperate grounds that it was "discriminatory." But this familiar incantation fell flat on Mrs. Williams, who is black and merely wishes to vest poor families with some power of choice. It also fell flat on a state judge, who ruled that the plan is legally unassailable. And so, as Mrs. Williams put it, low-income parents unhappy with public schools will soon see "where the problems lie.

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It's not because they are low-income kids. It's not because they are black. . . . They [school officials] are making excuses for their failure. These parents would not be taking their children out of the public schools if they were being educated."

■ President Bush's veto of the family-leave bill was a good one. Had the bill become law, every firm with fifty or more employees would have had to offer up to 12 weeks of leave to allow an employee to care for spouse, children, or biological parent. Such a law would have resulted in a greatly reduced scope for employer–employee negotiating (shorter leave for more salary? What if mother-in-law gets sick?). James J. Kilpatrick called it "one-size-fits-all." But even better than the veto was the accompanying message, which tagged the bill for its "rigid, federal-imposed requirements." Bush did the right thing; he knew why he did it; and he said so. We could make it an annual event.

■ The UN's Eighth Congress on Crime, the theme of which is "to crush crime, humanize justice," will meet in Havana.

■ Marion Barry was finally convicted on one charge of cocaine possession. The jury acquitted him on another, and was hung on a dozen more. The nation's capital was thus spared a likely riot, and there is even the possibility that it will finally get some community service out of its mayor. Not a bad outcome, really: the government used dubious methods to catch him in an offense that—let's face it—isn't really regarded as all that serious by much of the population. For now Barry is finished politically, and with the election of a new mayor later this year Washington may do some municipal house-cleaning and perhaps bring to light the real crime of the Barry years—his administration.

■ Not all black Washingtonians saw the Barry verdict as a victory for civil rights. "Did people fight and die and go to jail so that the cloth of civil rights can be used as a shield?" asked Bob Woodson, president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise. The civil-rights movement "wanted a single yardstick to measure justice." Mayor Barry's attempt "to hold himself up as a victim of the white prosecutors does a number on civil rights."

■ Maybe you've noticed that despite a million and a half abortions per year in the U.S., there's no such thing as an "abortionist" in the news reports. The preferred locution is "abortion provider." The pro-abortion—oops, "pro-choice"—bias in the media is so blatant that it has finally become a scandal among journalists who uphold the traditional standard of impartial coverage. First Richard Harwood, the *Washington Post*'s ombudsman, blasted his paper's "shabby" coverage of the April 28 anti-abortion rally at the Washington Monument. Now David Shaw of the *Los Angeles Times* has done a huge, four-part study of media abortion coverage that finds such shabbiness the rule in today's journalism. Another study by the Center for Media and Public Affairs cites statistical evidence for the same conclusion. Ethan Bronner of the *Boston Globe* says: "I think that when abortion opponents complain about a bias in newsrooms against their cause, they're absolutely right." An unnamed network official adds: "The problem, pure and simple, is that the media's loaded with women who are strongly pro-choice." John Leo of *U.S. News & World Report* scores "the contempt, insularity, and obliviousness that lie behind the press failures on abortion." Say it again, Spiro.

■ From a Supreme Court decision handed down June 25, 1990: "BLACKMUN, J., delivered the opinion for a unanimous Court with respect to Parts I, II, III, and VIII, and the opinion of the Court with respect to Part IV, in which BRENNAN, WHITE, MARSHALL, STEVENS, O'CONNOR, and SCALIA, JJ., joined; with respect to Part V, in which BRENNAN, WHITE, MARSHALL, STEVENS, O'CONNOR, and SCALIA, JJ., joined, and in which REHNQUIST, C.J., and KENNEDY, J., joined except for a portion thereof; with respect to Part VI, in which REHNQUIST, C.J., and BRENNAN, STEVENS, O'CONNOR, SCALIA, and KENNEDY, JJ., joined; with respect to Part VII, in which REHNQUIST, C.J., and BRENNAN, WHITE, MARSHALL, STEVENS, and O'CONNOR, JJ., joined; and with respect to Part IX, in which REHNQUIST, C.J., and BRENNAN, WHITE, MARSHALL, O'CONNOR, and KENNEDY, JJ., joined. WHITE, J., filed an opinion dissenting in part, in which MARSHALL, J., joined. STEVENS, J., filed an opinion dissenting in part, in which SCALIA, J., joined. SCALIA, J., filed an opinion dissenting in part, in which KENNEDY, J., joined. KENNEDY, J., filed an opinion dissenting in part, in which REHNQUIST, C.J., joined." And a good time was had by all.

■ A Swiss court has ruled that cowbells are a form of noise pollution and cows must be deprived of them immediately.

Patience Ain't Our Virtue

In America, golfers go nuts
When they follow a fellow who putts
  Like a zombie on dope,
  So abandon all hope
If Iraqis just sit on their butts.

W. H. VON DREELE

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■ Thirty-one state attorneys general have joined in the clamor to "investigate" gasoline price hikes. That leaves only 19 who might have even nodding acquaintance with market economics.

■ Oh, dear, dear, dear, dear. Representative Panetta admits, glumly, that rising gasoline prices "could hurt" congressional plans to raise energy taxes.

■ If we do not get emission controls on Congress soon, we risk immediate Global Warming.

■ *Doonesbury* last week qualified for an NEA grant.

Quick on the Draw

ROUND ONE went to Saddam Hussein. In a day he managed to upset the balance of power in the Persian Gulf by seizing Kuwait and annexing it, intimidating his neighbors by a naked and shameless act of robbery and plunder. Rounds Two and Three, thank goodness, went to President Bush, who first orchestrated a comprehensive embargo of Iraqi oil, and then secured Saudi agreement to large deployments of American forces. Round Four—the commitment of Arab troops and prestige to this effort—has gone to President Mubarak of Egypt, a friend and ally of the United States. We are off to a good start but in a very dangerous, and possibly a very long, game.

Mr. Bush's sterling qualities came through in this crisis, namely, his energy, the deeper toughness that underlies his gentlemanly demeanor, and his skill in dealing with the leaders of foreign nations. No matter that the Administration greatly underestimated the Iraqi threat until the day of the invasion, or that it wavered for a day or so in its response. In the crunch the President came through, and he deserves full credit for that. By week's end Iraq was isolated from all save Libya, Jordan, and the PLO, and it looked as if a hard squeeze would gradually bring the Iraqi regime to its knees. On the other hand, Saddam has formidable strategic assets remaining: some ten thousand Western hostages, a large and combat-experienced army, a worldwide web of cooperative terrorist movements, undercurrents of pro-Iraqi sentiment in other Arab countries, and the knowledge that the coalition opposite him is frail and, like all coalitions, prone to the strategy of the least common denominator. Above all, the Iraqi dictator has a cunning and a brutality that will make him increasingly dangerous as the walls close in around him.

The immediate American goals are the restoration of Kuwait and the defense of Saudi Arabia; but our eventual objectives must be deeper: the overthrow of Saddam and the permanent reduction of Iraqi military power. Ideally (and this is probably how the Administration thinks) Saddam will be deposed by his own men; but beyond this we should aim to see the Iraqi poison-gas stocks destroyed, the facilities for constructing them and for developing nuclear weapons dismantled, and the Iraqi military cut back to a modest size. If it comes to fighting—as it very well might—the United States should hit with a heavy hand, taking the opportunity to remove a menace to our well-being and to world order, and to administer a salutary lesson to other would-be tyrant-states. Should the Iraqis give us the occasion, American air power should (as it can) reduce the Iraqi air force to twisted metal, Iraqi military factories to smoking rubble, and Iraqi tank parks to scrap yards. We say this knowing that we may have to pay a heavy cost to inflict this ruin; and we say it not out of bloodthirstiness but out of sober calculation. Better a crushing blow now than *any* peaceful solution that leaves Saddam free in five years' time to renew his bid for supreme power in the Arab world, armed with nuclear weapons and a prestige born of outwitting the United States. It goes against all our bureaucracies' instincts, but we would be wise to be quick on the draw.

The Administration will, of course, proclaim that it wants a peaceful solution to this, the first great crisis of the post-cold-war world. But the danger is that, after a few fatiguing months of trying to keep sanctions on, we may be fobbed off with something less than a real and unconditional surrender by Iraq. We need to prop up our allies (the Turks, for instance) but not be captured by their fears or inhibitions. We need to be wary of blows directed against our coalition, by diversionary Iraqi attempts to make this an Arab–Israeli crisis, for example. But above all, we need the collective patience to wait as long as it takes—and the courage to strike hard if and when the time comes. And against that day, our thoughts are with the sailors, soldiers, airmen, and marines who, even as you read this, are steaming to their battle stations in the Persian Gulf.

The Economy This Time

THE OIL SHOCKS of the Seventies sent the economy careening into a decade of inflation, stagnation, and finally, sharp recession. This time, with a little help from our friends, the economic damage is likely to be minimal. The most persuasive reason for optimism, at least in the short run, is the quick, orderly manner in which oil prices increased—and then fell. To some, the increase was price-gouging. To others, it was anticipatory pricing.

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However you characterize it, an immediate price increase is infinitely preferable to the *fear* of higher prices.

Seventeen years ago fear prevailed. Oil traded at official prices; the industry was caught in a web of price controls and regulations. Today prices respond instantaneously to the shouts and gestures of an army of international oil traders, the results quantified and transmitted globally via computers. It's a lot messier than in the Seventies, but we have no hoarding, no panic, no gas lines. And there won't be any unless congressional populists succeed in restoring the regulatory bureaucracy.

Inflationary pressures will worsen, with about one percentage point tacked onto the consumer price index if prices remain at $25 per barrel for the rest of the year. Under price controls, however, the standard of living would have fallen severely. Just consider that for a couple of dollars more per tank of gas, consumers are saving themselves hours lined up at gas stations. The time, as any Russian housewife will tell you, is worth more than the money.

In contrast to 1973 and 1979, the world is awash in excess production capacity. Saudi Arabia and Venezuela alone can pump an additional three million barrels per day, replacing more than half the lost Iraq/Kuwait production. Other nations can easily fill the remaining gap. In the meantime the Western nations can draw down their enormous storage stocks, a reserve they sorely lacked in the Seventies. With oil prices rising faster than inflation the incentive to conserve oil will increase. And unlike earlier shocks there is no evidence of an actual cutback in production, meaning there may be a glut of Iraqi and Kuwaiti crude once the crisis passes.

Conspicuously missing from the list of things to be thankful for this time around is the condition of the U.S. oil industry. Domestic oil production has decreased 20 per cent in the last five years, and is currently at its lowest level since 1962. It's not that we're running out of oil: as many as three hundred billion barrels lie unrecovered in abandoned wells, according to the Department of Energy. But extraction costs are prohibitive, and most experts do not see domestic production turning around until we have oil at $40 a barrel.

That price threshold can be lowered, however. The complete deregulation of natural gas and the opening of more federal lands to drilling, including offshore areas, and perhaps even the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, should be among the first steps. We might also restore the depletion allowance and tax credits for new oil and gas drilling, most of which were eliminated by the 1986 tax reform. President Bush's close ties with the oil industry should not restrain him from pushing hard for this now.

Finally, Saddam Hussein's wakeup call should push that great unmentionable—nuclear power—back onto the nation's energy agenda. In the 12 years since the last plant was ordered, safer, cheaper nuclear-power-plant technology has been developed. A nation increasingly concerned with global warming, acid rain, and oil spills—not to mention Middle Eastern madmen—may finally be ready.

To Stark

stark vt /stärk/ [from Congressional English, viz., Representative Fortney "Pete" Stark (D., Calif.)] to denigrate a member of a minority for being too uppity toward the liberal white establishment

FOR SOME TIME NOW America's political vocabulary has lacked a proper term to describe the plantation mentality of the Left. But the attack by a liberal white congressman, Pete Stark, on a black secretary for health and human services, Louis Sullivan, as "a disgrace to his race" fills that gap nicely. Not only did Congressman Stark make the charge—he was upset that the secretary does not support national health insurance, abortion on demand, etc.—he repeated it later at a second news conference and said he would not apologize. In the end he did, but only after the public backlash grew and Republican leader Bob Michel denounced him from the floor.

Secretary Sullivan is not the first black to have been starked: Bill Lucas, Clarence Thomas, Tom Sowell, and a host of other blacks have all been treated with similar, albeit unstated, contempt for refusing to toe the line. Indeed, even minorities who are liberal can be starked if they forget their place. Just a few weeks ago, Jimmy Breslin called a Korean colleague at *Newsday* a "yellow cur" for questioning one of his columns. Of course, these things tend to die down pretty quickly when they come from the Left, but maybe it's just because we don't have a nice word for it, like, say, McCarthyism. Well, now we do.

Duke for Senator?

DAVID DUKE, black-sheep Republican candidate for senator from Louisiana, is often cited as a symbol of resurgent racism. Duke, whose powers as a campaigner were limned by Tom Bethell ("The Hazards of David Duke," *NR*, August 20), is in fact proof of the fundamentally non-racist character of white American society, in that his present popularity was won only at the cost of doffing his white hood and employing the non-racial rhetoric of a color-blind society. If Duke employed

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even the rhetoric of racial solidarity of Marion Barry, he would be instantly marginalized.

His prominence also demonstrates the fact that while nature, strictly speaking, may not abhor a vacuum, politics does. Duke is running on a perfectly legitimate program of skepticism about affirmative action and Great Society–style welfare. These issues have become the property of a man who appears to be at best an opportunist, at worst, a not-so-ex-fanatic, because the kinder, gentler GOP mainstream has let them slip out of its arsenal. Republicans seem to believe that tough thinking about the debacle of America's social and racial policies ought to be relegated to TV spots in leap years, between which they are free to pursue their "real," i.e., semi-liberal, inclinations—an approach to politics and pol-

RIGHT DATA

Call Up the (Oil) Reserves

'WITH Kuwait under its control, Iraq commands a fifth of the world's proven oil reserves and can more easily manipulate prices." *Time*'s apprehension over oil reserves was echoed throughout the media. In fact, oil-reserve figures are manipulated far more easily than oil prices:

PROVEN CRUDE OIL RESERVES
(Billions of Barrels)

	Iraq	Kuwait	Iran	Saudi Arabia	U.S.	World
1985	43.0	90.0	48.5	169.0	28.4	699.8
1986	44.5	89.8	47.9	168.8	28.4	700.6
1987	47.1	91.9	48.8	166.6	26.9	699.8
1988	100.0	91.9	92.9	167.0	27.3	889.3
1989	100.0	91.9	92.9	170.0	26.8	907.8
1990	100.0	94.5	92.9	254.9	25.9	1,001.6

The *Oil and Gas Journal*'s authoritative estimates show that on January 1, 1988, global oil reserves were 190 billion barrels higher than on the same date in 1987, a staggering 27 per cent increase. In one year Iraq's reserves more than doubled, Iran's rose 90 per cent. Abu Dhabi (not shown above) started 1988 with official reserves of 92.9 billion barrels, 61.9 billion more than at the start of 1987.

Obviously these changes do not reflect newly discovered oil. Politics and economics, not geology, lie behind the drastic "revisions" of "proven" oil reserves. Both Iran and Iraq borrowed heavily to finance the war and subsequent reconstruction: higher estimated reserves of crude mean higher collateral for international lenders. Reserves are also one of the factors OPEC uses in allocating production quotas, so it's advantageous for all cartel members to fudge these figures upward.

All this may be of little solace to the United States, where proven reserves have fallen steadily since Alaska's North Slope was added to the total in 1970. At the start of this year U.S. crude reserves were sufficient to sustain only 9.2 years of production. Iraq, even before the recent "revision," had fifty years' worth of oil in the ground; Kuwait and Saudi Arabia each have more than one hundred years' worth.

However, political considerations influence U.S. oil-reserve figures also. According to geologists there are three hundred billion barrels of unrecovered oil—more than ten times the official proven reserve figure—lying underneath the United States.

This vast potential remains untapped primarily because the current price of oil is too low to cover the costs of extraction. But misguided public policy has exacerbated the situation. The 1986 tax reform, for example, was especially hard on oil companies. The depletion allowance was severely curbed, and tax shelters, which had enabled many of the industry's tax advantages to be passed on to investors, were eliminated. Not surprisingly, the funds available for exploration fell: despite the recent increase in drilling activity there are 75 per cent fewer rigs in operation now than in 1981. At the same time, environmentalists have succeeded in prohibiting even strictly controlled exploration in many promising areas.

U.S. domestic oil production has fallen 22 per cent since 1986, not because we are "running out of oil," but because the price of oil is simply too low to cover the cost of expanding production in this country.

Iraq and Kuwait accounted for a combined 10.2 per cent of total U.S. oil imports in 1989, or about 5 per cent of all oil consumed here. Losing that is no small hit. But the U.S. oil stockpile, including the Federal Government's underground cache in Louisiana, is large enough to cover this shortfall for more than two years. Pledges by Saudi Arabia and Venezuela to increase their output, together with the increased conservation which will surely accompany higher prices, make a big drawdown in oil stocks unlikely.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

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icy that is at least as cynical as Duke's. If the Republicans leave the Devil all the best tunes, he will convert a good many of their congregation.

Resumed Innocence

THE AMERICAN Bar Association has dropped its endorsement of abortion as a constitutional right. The pro-abortion position it adopted in February had caused bitter divisions and provoked 1,500 resignations. Many of the dissenters oppose abortion on moral grounds; others simply feel that the ABA's stand was improper and likely to compromise its stance as a politically neutral advisory body.

The reversal is an improvement, but the ABA's professionalism is already compromised beyond repair. In 1987, four members of its 15-man advisory panel on judicial appointments (which routinely gives unanimous approval to ordinary nominees) pronounced Robert Bork "not qualified" to serve on the Supreme Court. A baseball scout might as well have called Willie Mays "not qualified" to play in the major leagues: the judgment was manifestly political, not professional. The ABA's more recent stand on abortion only underscored its leanings.

Even some proponents of legal abortion wince at the reasoning by which *Roe* v. *Wade* found a traditionally criminal procedure to be not merely tolerable, but constitutionally protected. Yet the Court didn't go so far, in *Roe*, as to call abortion itself a "right." The only right it asserted was "privacy," in whose "penumbra" it located abortion. The ABA's outright identification of abortion with the Constitution exposed not only its predilections but its lack of professional discrimination. Its narrow vote to rescind that measure corrects a mistake but doesn't restore its innocence. Though it may sometimes appear noncommittal, it has proved it isn't neutral.

That's Rich

THE DEMAGOGIC din about how the rich got richer and the poor poorer during the Reagan era shows no sign of abating. Kevin Phillips, while applauding the fact that wealthy Americans pay a larger share of federal taxes than ever before, bemoans the "upward redistribution of wealth" in his new book, *The Politics of Rich and Poor* [see "Kevin Phillips: Left Out," *NR*, Aug. 6]. In commenting on the Bush Administration's decision to embark on no new anti-poverty programs, Tom Wicker sneers: "Why tamper with a system that caused the average family income of the poorest 10 per cent of Americans to *fall* 10.5 per cent between 1977 and 1987, while the average family income of the wealthiest 1 per cent rose 74.2 per cent in the same years?"

Despite their statistical panoply, neither Wicker nor Phillips pays attention to facts. The data show that the real incomes of the bottom fifth of Americans declined between 1977 and 1982, and bounced back during the subsequent economic recovery. Inflation, not Reaganomics, set lower-income Americans back. In fact, the fraction of Americans living in poverty during the last full year of the Reagan Administration—13.1 per cent—was the lowest since 1981. A substantial underclass persists. But the big growth in female-headed welfare families occurred during the late Sixties and early Seventies—a legacy of the Great Society. Most of those programs are still in place: the Federal Government spent $145 billion on programs designed specifically for the poor or jobless in 1990, about ten times more in inflation-adjusted terms than thirty years earlier.

The Salem Epidemic

IT'S A RARE occasion when we agree with anything in *The Village Voice*, but Debbie Nathan's article "The Ritual Sex Abuse Hoax" (June 12) is such a case. Miss Nathan reviews the recent rash of ritual-child-sex-abuse cases, the most (in)famous being that of the Virginia McMartin Pre-School, and concludes they're mostly hysteria. Her conclusions have been retrospectively validated by the failure, on the second attempt and after seven years of ruthless and clearly improper prosecutorial tactics, to convict Raymond Buckey of a single one of the 75 original charges against him.

It had been a plausible criticism of such cases until recently to say that they were *like* witchcraft trials. But as Miss Nathan demonstrates, similarity does not come into it. They *are* witchcraft trials—with prosecutors alleging satanic sex rituals, the slaying of animals, robed abusers, and the full paraphernalia of Hammer horror movies.

"Investigations usually began because of vague medical symptoms. . . . The first allegations sometimes seemed plausible. But in remarkable departures from traditional forensics, police, social workers, doctors, and therapists badgered children to name more victims and perpetrators, ignoring answers that contradicted a ritual-abuse scenario." Despite bullying and legal corner-cutting, most cases have ended in acquittals and dropped charges.

Kelly Michaels, a young woman who worked at a day-care center in New Jersey, was not so lucky [see "The Week," May 28]. She was charged with over one hundred counts of torturing and abusing the children in her care, almost all of them self-evidently

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absurd, none of them supported by anything but the flimsiest medical evidence and the tortuously extracted testimony of infants. The jury, influenced by extraordinary public hysteria, nonetheless found her guilty, and locked her away until the next millennium. The state of New Jersey has an obligation to redress this injustice. And prosecutors nationwide have an obligation not to defame reputations and destroy lives on the basis of utterly absurd allegations.

Rounding the Cape?

AFTER DECADES of saying he would never renounce the use of violence until the African National Congress's goals had been won, Nelson Mandela last week announced that the ANC was suspending its guerrilla war, effective immediately. Some observers felt this would be helpful to President F. W. de Klerk in countering white resistance to the pace of change; in fact, conservative whites are unlikely to believe the declaration, and Joe Slovo, Mr. Mandela's Communist ally, quickly stated that the warfare could be revived at any time.

Fortunately for South Africa's future, President de Klerk will not have to gamble too much on whether or not Mr. Mandela is to be believed. There is some danger in releasing ANC members from prison and allowing exiled guerrillas to return to the country, but the army remains strong, as do the intelligence services. As for the political aspects, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's announcement of the Inkatha Freedom Party, willing to contest elections as soon as the political process is opened to blacks, has undercut at home (if not in the world media) the ANC's claim to represent all South African blacks.

The road toward a multi-party, multi-racial democracy in South Africa will be no shorter or smoother than the road toward prosperous and well-founded economies in Central and Eastern Europe. But in the South as in the East, the outside world should give its encouragement—and help, where indicated—to the people who seem genuinely to be striving for reform. President de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi both call for an end to sanctions. Why is the West listening to Joe Slovo?

It Beats Clyde Beatty

Like a lion trainer whose
Cold eye makes the big cats choose
Stools and chairs to squat upon
As the circus fans turn wan,
George Bush made those UN cats
Hop to with long-distance chats.

W. H. VON DREELE

Inequity

IN WHAT union member Dick Cavett called the "bonehead decision of the year," the Actors' Equity Association barred British star Jonathan Pryce from the Broadway run of the award-winning play *Miss Saigon* because Mr. Pryce is a Caucasian and his character is a Eurasian. Apparently Actors' Equity thought it could bully the producers into acquiescence because the play had already rung up more than $25 million in advance sales. But the producer stuck to his guns, and now Actors' Equity is facing a backlash that may end up reversing the decision by the time *NR* hits the newsstands.

Now, the idea that jobs ought to be assigned according to race, pernicious on the face of it, is especially absurd in theater, where people are paid to *pretend*. Will Madame Butterfly have to be Japanese from now on? Must Hamlet be a Dane? Even the famous Suzie Wong was played by Nancy Kwan, who was half English. Obversely, in recent days black actors such as Morgan Freeman and Denzel Washington have won roles such as Petruchio and Richard III. Equity's decision thus goes against the thrust of the effort by minority actors to expand into mainstream roles. It is doubly ironic in that of all minorities, Asians have the least interest in embracing the failed agenda of the civil-rights establishment, whose quota systems are now being used against Asians by a number of leading American universities.

Indeed, the Equity action reminds us that we are still paying a bitter price for two decades of affirmative action. So long as the Administration fails to articulate a contrary vision of civil rights based on opportunity, it is a price we can, unhappily, expect to continue to pay.

The Test of Time

WE NOTE with sadness the passing of Gordon Bunshaft, architect, an avatar of the modernist International Style. Mr. Bunshaft's masterpiece is Lever House (1952) on New York's Park Avenue. Lewis Mumford wrote of this building, which has been declared a landmark, that it says "all that can be said delicately, accurately, elegantly, with surfaces of glass."

The only rival of Lever House on all of Park Avenue is Mies van der Rohe's nearby Seagram's Building. Mumford indicated the limits of the Interna-

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tional Style when he used the phrase "all that can be said" with surfaces of glass. Stanford White, perhaps our greatest architect, had the advantage of a much richer architectural vocabulary. His buildings have stood the test of changing fashion. A century from now, about all that will be left of the International Style on Park Avenue will be Lever House and maybe the Seagram's. But White's St. Bartholomew's Church will survive the twenty-first century, as will the great barrel-vault of Grand Central, not White's, but derived from the same inspiration.

Jean-Marie Benoist, R I P

THE DEATH of Jean-Marie Benoist of stomach cancer on August 7 at the tragically early age of 48 robs Western conservatism of one of its most brilliant minds and attractive personalities.

In the twenty years since Mr. Benoist published his first great book, *Marx Is Dead*, he lived to see his once-heretical ideas on the value of free markets and personal liberty rout the Marxists who for generations had dominated French intellectual life. A deeply devout Catholic, Mr. Benoist easily bridged the gap between old-fashioned European traditionalism and the new American-inspired neoconservatism of the 1970s. A senior fellow at the prestigious Collège de France, he became one of the most influential expounders of French "new conservative" thought in his books and articles. He lived to see the Marxism which was unquestioned by most French intellectuals in 1968 become widely discredited, even in socialist circles.

His unfailing courage, optimism, and gallantry during his illness revealed the glowing essence of the man. "If he saw a grain of light buried in a big black cloud, he would leap on it as the good news," said a friend, Helga Walter. It was typical of Jean-Marie that his final book, labored on through these last months, should be optimistically titled *How Democracies Survive*, a combative response to Jean-François Revel's *How Democracies Perish*.

He leaves behind a grieving wife and five children, and innumerable friends who are infinitely the richer for his touch, including the editors of this journal. —MARTIN SIEFF

Just a Curiosity

If Babel is king and English becomes
A language for antiquarian gums,
Forget about game plans plotted to beat
The Japanese-speaking man in the street.

W. H. VON DREELE

Jacques Soustelle, R I P

JACQUES SOUSTELLE was one of those fascinating French intellectuals whose lives were turned upside down by experience. Soustelle was an academic, a brilliant anthropologist who specialized in the study of pre-Columbian civilizations in Peru and Mexico. By inclination he was a leftist, and accordingly the most convinced leftist in postwar France sent him off to serve as governor general of Algeria. That was in 1955, and Pierre Mendès-France could hardly have predicted what happened to Soustelle, any more than Soustelle could have predicted what later happened to Charles de Gaulle, Soustelle's intimate in the war against the Nazis.

What happened was that Soustelle became convinced that to desert Algeria would be to commit the whole country to violence and chaos. Mendès-France fired him, and he turned to his old comrade-in-arms, rejoicing at de Gaulle's return from Colombey-les-Deux-Eglises to run France—and to save Algeria. There was the great moment (June 1958) when he stood with de Gaulle before delirious French settlers who pleaded for a French Algeria. "*Je vous ai compris.*" Howls of delight—General de Gaulle "understood" the settlers. One year later it transpired that General de Gaulle understood, all right; but what he understood was that France ought to get out of Algeria. To say that this resulted in an estrangement between Jacques Soustelle and Charles de Gaulle is to understate the point: Soustelle was implicated, if only by association, in an attempt to assassinate de Gaulle. He went into hiding, was given amnesty in 1968, and was made a member of the French Academy in 1983.

When in 1962 the National Review Forum presented Jacques Soustelle to argue the case for French Algeria, the authorities at Hunter College in New York City, whose facilities we used, sneaked in to hear him, and then served notice that Hunter's auditorium would no longer be available to us, so outrageous were the views of our guest. We sued (*National Review* v. *Hunter*, the ACLU supporting us) and won. All that was lost was Algeria.

As a man of politics, Soustelle was guilty of premature anti-anti-colonialism. —WFB

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

You must simply stop corrupting our language! If Panama is "unique," then you shouldn't say, "So is

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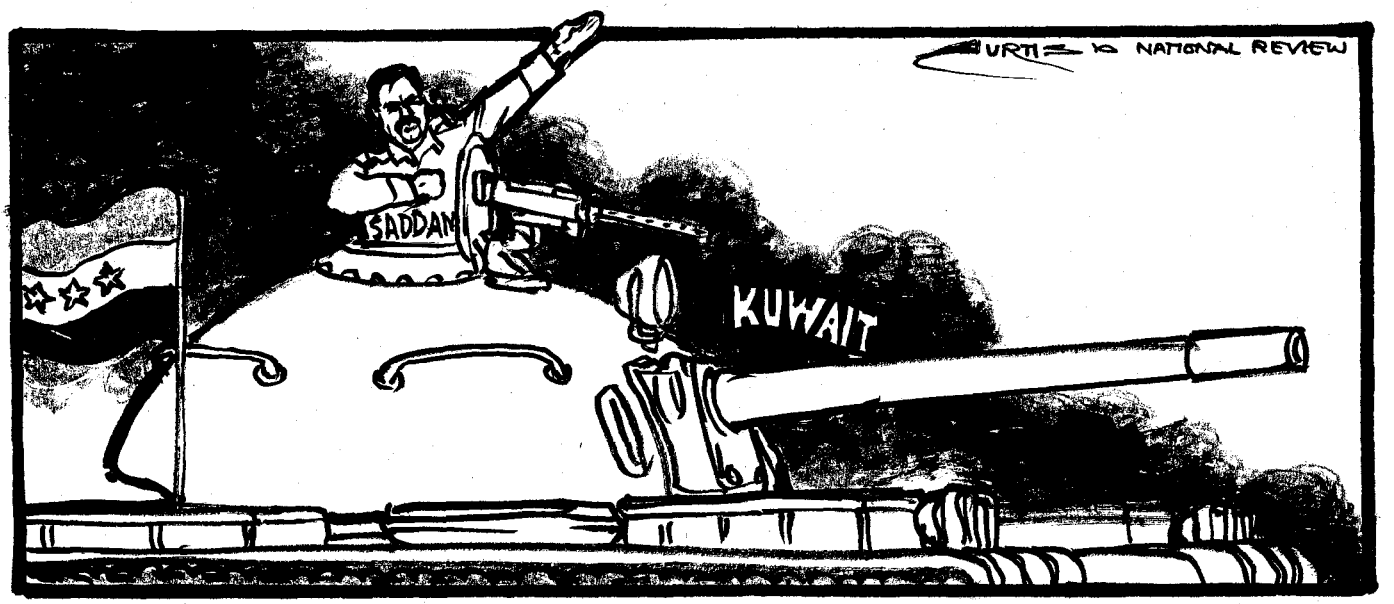

"Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer!"

Nicaragua unique, only more so . . ." ("On the Right," *NR*, Feb. 5).

I mean unique is unique, and nothing can be uniquer! What did they teach you at Yale?

(Signed)—A WRETCHED PURIST
Sincerely,
Clay Hartley
Mishawaka, Ind.

Dear Mr. Hartley: Come on! I was making fun of official analysis, using bureaucratic vernacular. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I read *all* your "Notes & Asides" [*NR*, May 14]. Maybe you can tell me something about melancholy. Melancholy is a state of mind, a substantive, like alcohol. We say somebody is an alcoholic, if he or she suffers from this "substantive."

But never in literature have I read somebody is "melancholic" when suffering from melancholy. Why? It hits me every time.

Your devoted reader,
Silvia Davidson
Belvedere, Calif.

Dear Miss Davidson: Sorry, but the word exists. See Webster III, p. 1,405 ". . . a melancholy person." Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

On April 15, 1987, an article of yours appeared in the *Los Angeles Daily News*, "Moralist Rooney plays Solomon," in which is this clause: "We would be morally engaged in the question if it was a Tobacco Road situation." The context and your sentence following the clause above make it quite clear that the condition is contrary to fact. Why, then, did you use *was* instead of *were*?

I know of the gradual disappearance of the subjunctive mood but have had no reason to think that the contrary-to-fact condition has joined the demise. At last printings, both Follett and Crews held with *were*, Follett considering the usage to be a dividing line between educated and uneducated speakers.

In short, why did you use *was*?

Sincerely,
David E. Jones
Van Nuys, Calif.

Dear Mr. Jones: I don't object to using the subjunctive when its use is both euphonious and realistic. I would say, "If it weren't for Mother, I wouldn't be." But I would say, "If Jane was there, she'd be guilty." To say, "If Jane *were* there, she'd be guilty" comes close to letting form dictate fact. The first clearly implies that you don't think Jane was there; the second, that you're not sure. . . . Subjunctives are dying out, and in part it's a good thing. (You wouldn't go around, Jones, confess it, saying, "If I be wrong, correct me"?) Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Anyone who loves Bach and plays him so well can't be all that bad. And even though I am a "card carrying" liberal, I enjoy most of your broadcasts.

But how nice it would be if only some of Bach's logic, compassion, loftiness of spirit, and utter divinity would pervade some of your opinions!

Res ipsa loquitur.

Sincerely,
Sam Laventhal
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mr. Laventhal: Yeah. Thanks. And it would be nice if some of Bach's genius flowed through me. But of course we have in common the love of beautiful things, thoughts, ideas. Cordially, **—WFB**

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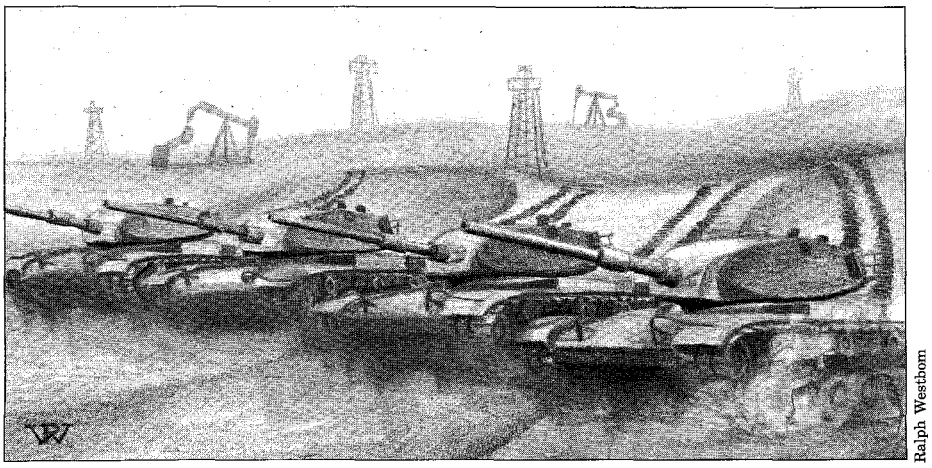
Arab Dominoes

IAN ALEXANDER



Ralph Westbom

MANAMA, BAHRAIN

"IT COULDN'T happen here, but it has. We used to be amused about American overreaction to the threat in Southeast Asia. Now, we wonder if we are going to be the next Arab domino."

The sentiments of a very somber, very senior Arab observer have changed markedly, in less time than it took Saddam Hussein's armored legions and paratroops to take Kuwait (effectively, four hours). And he is far from alone: throughout the Arabian peninsula, heretofore quietly affluent, thoroughly self-satisfied citizens are deeply concerned.

Political reactions are mixed, not to say mixed up. Younger Arabs may say things like: "Saddam Hussein is no doubt mad, but at least he is a leader. Anyway, the Al Sabah [the ruling family of Kuwait] had it coming to them. They have been a problem to us for years."

While very few mature Gulf Arabs would agree that Saddam's leadership qualities made up for his psychopathic tendencies, there is, unfortunately, much that can be said about the flaws of the Al Sabahs. In the words of one Gulf government official, "They ran their country as if it were a business, and they were very short term in their thinking. With Iraq as good as bankrupt, how could they press for repayment of their loans [best estimate: $12 to $15 billion]? Did they forget that ten years ago, before he invaded Iran, we were all worrying when Saddam would sweep down the Arab side of the Gulf? In many respects, they seemed to invite their troubles."

Here in Bahrain, there is distinct concern that the domino could be pushed from either Baghdad or Teheran. The island state's population is 65 per cent Shiite, and many of these people look fondly east to Iran. Indeed, Bahraini Shiites mounted an abortive coup in 1985.

Dubai, business center of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), has a large Iranian-origin component to its population. In the first days of the crisis, there was talk of requesting Iran to send "protective" forces (a course not guaranteed to preserve independence: early in its war with Iraq, Iran "temporarily" occupied two small islands belonging to the UAE and gives no sign of being willing to relinquish them). Cooler heads have prevailed.

Such overreactions have occurred in part because of knee-jerk reactions from abroad. Several Dubai-based advertising agencies report international clients canceling media budgets for the next six months, not just for Kuwait but for the neighboring markets of Bahrain and the UAE. And the international banks are refusing to handle all but the most gilt-edged business out of Bahrain's widely respected regional banking center.

Thus, reluctance to be drawn into the confrontation between two difficult neighbors has been replaced by . . . fear—initially, fear of losing worldly possessions; now, fear of chemical weapons.

Saddam's threat to turn first Kuwait and, later, Saudi Arabia into a graveyard has all but paralyzed rational thought among many Saudis, a clear objective of the "Butcher of Baghdad." His latest call for a holy war, a *jihad*, against the aggressor Americans is being blown out of all proportion by Saudis who fear the magic of such a call to arms to many of the very religious. Few are comforted by the fact that Saddam is well known for his secularist views. They will be relieved only when and if recognized Islamic religious leaders speak out clearly against the appeal.

Failing this, there is a significant undercurrent of belief that peace can and should be bought. That the events of the past few days clearly prove money does not build friendships—with the PLO's Yasir Arafat, Jordan's King Hussein, and Yemen's Ali Saleh not standing with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, despite collectively receiving more than $100 billion from the two countries—is all but lost on Saudis of this mind-set.

Caution, fear, and peace-at-any-price are not, however, to be found in the Saudi government. Although its defense forces have hardly ever fired a shot in anger (never, incidentally, against Israel), there is every determination, as one official put it, "Not to be a Neville Chamberlain. We must get ready, and so must our friends; then, it will be time to turn the full economic screws. Saddam is a madman, but not so mad as not to see when he is up against unbeatable odds."

Saudi strategic thinkers believe the only real solution will be the removal of Saddam Hussein from the scene. Several express concern for the ab-

Mr. Alexander is a longtime observer of the Arab scene.

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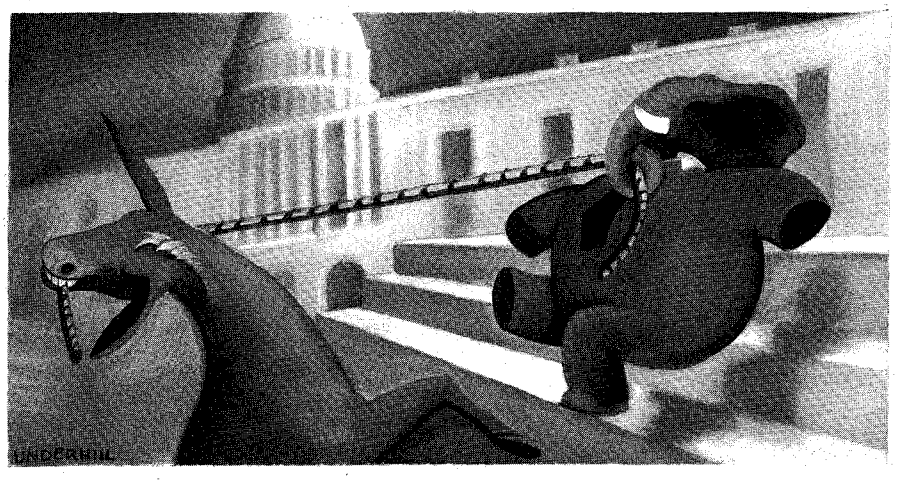
sence of this point in President Bush's remarks. "What the President said was fine, as far as it went," a leading official from one of the smaller Arab states observed. "Certainly, it is vital to protect Saudi Arabia and preserve the free flow of petroleum. But there is more to it: Saddam must be driven out of Kuwait and, ultimately, eliminated."

Will the Saudis and their neighbors stay the course? As of now, all indications are they will. The leadership is determined; the people are progressively accepting that, sometimes, peace and tranquillity require risk and sacrifice.

It is worthwhile to remember that the centuries-old Arab game is backgammon (in Arabic, *tavli*). There is very little interest in the Arabian peninsula, these days, in dominoes. □

Budget Talking Blues

WILLIAM McGURN



Gary Underhill

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOR A MOMENT there it looked like the George Bush of the 1988 campaign. The budget summit was stalled owing to Democratic intransigence, and over coffee and doughnuts with 150 of the 221 Republicans in Congress, the President let it be known he was fed up and intimated that he would veto any spending bills that were above his own budget targets. Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (Ga.) emerged from the session confident, saying that unless the Democrats came up with a plan in the next 48 hours, a "smoldering" George Bush was going on the warpath. Even Minority Leader Bob Michel (Ill.), the Chamberlain of domestic politics, was sounding like Clint Eastwood, telling the waiting press that the President had "fire in his belly" and was not to be messed with.

But it was only a moment. Almost immediately afterward, the President's deputy press secretary, Roman Popadiuk, deflated expectations by saying Bush had not in fact issued any ultimatum and still intended to negotiate in good faith with the Democrats. Still later, another White House official emerged with yet another spin on the story, saying that the real truth was somewhere in between the Popadiuk and Gingrich versions. In other words: believe what you want.

This uncertain trumpet is a perfect illustration of why an Administration that just a few weeks ago boasted such high public-approval ratings finds itself on the ropes against a Democratic Party whose tax-and-spend message hasn't changed one whit. With the Democrats still refusing to bring any plan of their own to the summit table and Budget Director Richard Darman and Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady raising deficit hysteria, the only achievement of the two months of bipartisan talks has been to get Bush to renege on his "no new taxes" pledge. This was more or less inevitable once Bush got sucked into a summit, because of one central Beltway truth: in Washington, the process is the program.

"Once Bush signaled he was afraid to let the Gramm–Rudman sequester go into effect, all the Democrats had to do was stand pat," says the Heritage Foundation's Dan Mitchell. "The result is we're back to the Sixties and Seventies, where Democrats raise spending and buy votes and Republicans raise taxes to pay for that spending and lose votes."

Now, were the President to take on the Democrats, there is no doubt he could recover. But Bush simply has no stomach for confrontation, and every day the budget process drags out, he paints himself further and further into a corner. From the start the Democrats have had no incentive to agree to any serious cuts in spending in return for raising taxes. "We did not pledge that every time the Republicans slit their wrists we would slit ours," said Representative Leon E. Panetta (D., Calif.), chairman of the House Budget Committee and a Democratic summiteer. Not exactly the spirit of bipartisanship, mind you, but hard to argue with politically.

Had anyone in the Administration consulted with his fellow Republicans, he would have seen this coming. But the orders of the day were to work with Congress, which meant the Democratic majority. To show his good faith, Bush even went back on his pledge. But the Democrats didn't budge an inch. To the contrary: as the Heritage Foundation reports, while moaning about the deficit they have gone on a spending spree, passing appropriations bills that are already $41 billion, or 11.4 per cent, above last year's level. This is simply a rerun of previous budget summits: in 1982, 1984, and 1987, Ronald Reagan agreed to tax increases in exchange for spending cuts that never materialized, and the deficit continued to grow.

In fact, there's a good argument to be made that the problems today stem from David Stockman's decision in the early days of the Reagan Administration to trim rather than eliminate the expensive failures of the Great Society. These are some of the programs the House Republican Study Group has targeted as a way of meeting the Gramm–Rudman targets: the National Endowment for the Arts, the Legal Services Corporation, the Small Business Administration, the Job Corps, the Export–Import Bank, the Tennessee Valley Authority. Eliminating all the farm subsidies alone would

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save about $6.9 billion. Bush's approach to these, unfortunately, has been a throwback to Nixon-style me-too Republicanism—the same, but less. This is why tax increases are on the table but the aforementioned program cuts aren't.

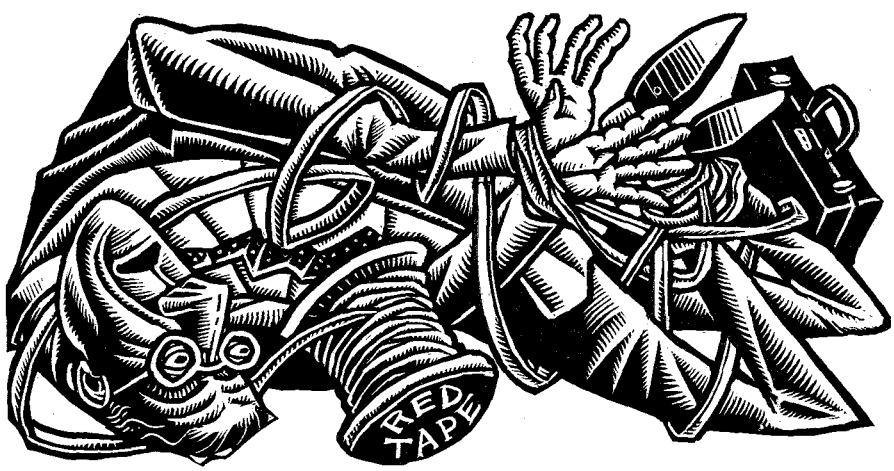
Lost too are all the wonderful things the White House promised from a successful summit: real budget reform, cuts in entitlements, maybe even a line-item veto. Sources in the White House describe Secretary Brady as "bordering on the hysterical" in his quest for a deal, any deal; more important, no one is preparing for a sequester, which means that as the day of reckoning approaches, Bush has nothing to wave at the Democrats.

Worse still, Bush has seemed determined to surrender whatever leverage he had. For example, the White House lobbied hard against a resolution sponsored by Representative Dick Armey (R., Tex.) putting House Republicans on record as opposing the use of tax increases to fight the deficit, something that would enable the Republicans to ride the swell of anti-Washington sentiment in the heartland. On top of this, summit member and Bush's fellow Texan Senator Phil Gramm—the great conservative hope of the future—thrice delivered gratuitous sneers at the measure, only the last one making it into the newspapers. Speculation now is that Minority Whip Newt Gingrich, whose criticisms of the Bush strategy on national television brought him angry calls from the White House, will not go along with the final package.

In the end, however, it may not matter if Gingrich leaves, even if he's followed by most of his GOP colleagues in the House. The likely outcome will be a sequester for two weeks and then a hurried agreement between Bush, the Democrats, Minority Leaders Robert Dole in the Senate and Bob Michel in the House, and whichever other Republicans want to go along. All this means that Bush's best ally for the moment is Saddam Hussein, who has driven up oil prices and made potential attacks on U.S. military spending more difficult politically. "If [Hussein] isn't working for Lee Atwater," says one GOP Hill staffer, "he should be." □

Socialist Fox in the Henhouse

PAUL BELIEN



Lisa Haney

BRUSSELS

ACCORDING to a recent Gallup poll, 47 per cent of Americans know of the existence of the European Community (EC). Three years ago only 29 per cent did. That Americans are getting to know the EC is a good thing, because the EC will have a large share in deciding how your tax money will be spent in Central and Eastern Europe.

At their summit meeting in Paris in July 1989, the seven most important industrialized nations (the Group of Seven, or G-7) decided to help Poland and Hungary in their efforts to liberalize their economies. At that time Erich Honecker was still shooting fugitives at the Berlin Wall, and Poland and Hungary were the only two countries of the Warsaw Pact that looked to be democratizing.

The G-7 decided to open up Western markets to Polish and Hungarian products and to coordinate food aid as well as technical, financial, and ecological assistance. Because Western Europeans are supposed to be more familiar with Central and Eastern European affairs than Americans, President Bush agreed that the program should be run by the European Commission, the EC's executive branch. The coordination program was baptized PHARE, after its name in French: *Pologne, Hongrie—Assistance à la Restructuration des Economies*.

In all, 24 Western countries agreed to join in the effort to help Poland and Hungary recover from the destruction socialism had brought on them. Since then, the Wall has fallen and the Communist regimes in other former Warsaw Pact countries have been toppled. PHARE has been extended to include Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and—until reunification is achieved—East Germany.

At the first meeting of the 24 foreign ministers of the PHARE group, which took place in Brussels last December, the European Commission proposed to set up a development bank for Eastern Europe: the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD).

The EBRD will be an even bigger operation than PHARE. Forty countries have agreed to participate; they will provide the bank with $12 billion in capital, of which $6 billion will come from the 12 EC countries, $1.2 billion from the U.S., and the balance from the other 27 participants. The money is to be reserved for Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and the Soviet Union. It will be provided on condition that the country respects human rights and is moving toward a market economy. Three-fifths of the bank's lending will go to private-sector or privatizing companies. The rest will go to help the various governments build up infrastructure.

On May 6 of this year, at a G-7 meeting in Washington, the United States agreed that the EC could choose both the seat and the head of the new bank. France, Great Britain, and West Germany immediately settled the matter among themselves: London was to become the seat and a

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Frenchman the head (while Germany, in exchange, got the support of France and Britain in its bid for the seat of the future EC central bank). However, it was not the G-7 representatives but President François Mitterrand who chose *which* Frenchman, and he chose Mr. Jacques Attali.

From 1981 to 1983 Mr. Attali, economic advisor to President Mitterrand, had been the chief architect of a disastrous socialist nationalization program which nearly ruined France's economy. To many, the man who had nationalized industries in his own country did not seem the most obvious choice to help privatize industries in other countries. There was, furthermore, a far better candidate for the job: Mr. Onno Ruding, a Dutch banker with long experience at the International Monetary Fund, and a conservative Christian Democrat.

Although a majority of EC countries preferred Mr. Ruding, President Mitterrand insisted on his friend Mr. Attali, who has belonged to his personal entourage since 1974. When the other, smaller EC countries—which did not have representatives at the G-7 meeting—read about the EBRD deal in the papers, they were furious.

The Dutch protested. So did the Belgians, the Danes, the Greeks, and the rest. They felt betrayed by their bigger EC partners, but there was not much they could do. France had secured the support of most of the non-EC participants in the EBRD for Mr. Attali, and the Americans kept out of the quarrel. The protestors were reluctant to pull out of the EBRD and risk killing the whole project. And so Mr. Attali got his job, and the former Warsaw Pact countries, in their struggle to recover from socialism, were saddled with a prominent socialist.

They got some good news early this month, however, when Mr. Attali overplayed his hand and stirred up the dispute all over again. At an organizational meeting in London he angered many of the other participants both by his autocratic style and by his proposals for a large network of branch offices in the countries to be helped, which other participants felt would impose an unwieldy bureaucracy on a project whose point was speed and flexibility. Most important, the United States was one of the countries angered, and, indeed, Administration officials told the press they might have trouble getting authorization through Congress if their questions weren't settled satisfactorily. The East may be saved from socialism twice in one year. □

California Scheming

TIM W. FERGUSON

COSTA MESA, CALIF.

IT'S THE Grand Old Picnic at the Orange County Fairgrounds on Independence Day. The sun is hot and the party is not. Maybe six hundred of the faithful have shown up to kick off Pete Wilson's gubernatorial campaign. The sure winning ticket is the one for a Lexus automobile, the day's big door prize. Substantial yet sleek, like no candidate these folks have seen for a while.

The new darling of Golden State politics is instead Dianne Feinstein, a corporatist Democrat whose greatest legacies as mayor of San Francisco were skyscrapers and the steep budget deficit she left her successor. But such fiscal handoffs are rather expected of public officials these days. Little of her tenure by the Bay is remembered by the 90 per cent of Californians who live beyond the view from Coit Tower. To many of them, she has charisma and an image—anti-crime and pro-business—that overcomes some traditional weaknesses of her party.

Janet Hamlin

If voters were willing and able to do some second-order thinking, they might be less enamored of Mrs. Feinstein. She is closely allied with Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, the great black father to nearly every left-liberal interest in Sacramento—especially trial lawyers. Mrs. Feinstein may talk tough, but her judicial roster would probably parallel Willie Brown's, a boon for criminal defendants and civil plaintiffs. In other words, electing her as governor would be likely to undo much of what the electorate achieved by removing Chief Justice Rose Bird and two of her colleagues from the state supreme court in 1986. Nominees for dozens of other state posts would also tend to reflect the left-liberal activism of Democratic regulars. But talk of a chief executive's appointive powers is unlikely to cut through the mental fog at election time.

The voters are even less interested in reapportionment. Electing a Republican governor is the only way the party can save itself from another redistricting massacre, this time entailing the creation of seven new congressional districts. The legislature is likely to remain firmly in the hands of the Democrats. With Mrs. Feinstein playing ball, they could gerrymander the GOP into continued oblivion in the House of Representatives as well as the statehouse. This, despite the rise of Republican registration to effective parity in California. The party has tried time and again to get the voters interested in stopping those vandal Democrats from drawing squiggly lines all over the map of the state, but the issue seems to have no salience. Now all that stands between Ronald Reagan's heirs and a wipeout is . . .

Pete Wilson. Pollster-positioned for the Nineties. "Pro choice." Anti crime, and he won't let you forget it. Jail for even thinking about drugs. Plays good constituency politics. In eight years in the U.S. Senate, he has tended his corporate garden, sowing the gratitude of California wine, aerospace, electronics, filmmaking. Oh, and the savings and loans. Ooops.

Come election time, Pete Wilson can harvest a bushel of cash, and that, combined with his name recognition

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and winning record, inspired the Republican establishment to anoint him to succeed George Deukmejian. For old-timers, this brings back unpleasant memories of 1958, when Senator William Knowland and Governor Goodwin Knight decided to switch places. The GOP, hit by a backlash against its right-to-work initiative as well, lost big and didn't recover until Mr. Reagan's rise eight years later.

IN NOVEMBER a ballot measure may again play havoc. (No California election would be complete without a passionate proposition.) This time it's Big Green, an omnibus environmental purifier. Mr. Wilson, in deference to the state's agriculture industry—once and perhaps still a political giant—is against Big Green. Mrs. Feinstein came out for it, belatedly; her opponent in the primary was its co-author (along with Tom Hayden). But the hope of the GOP perceptual engineers is that Wilson's identification with most things natural and wonderful will shield him. He backed growth controls for a time as mayor of San Diego and was instrumental recently in getting President Bush to rule most of the California coastline off-limits to oil drilling.

Yes, indeed, Pete Wilson is a moderate, for all he invokes the Reagan name. And the question of whether centrists fare better here than movement conservatives remains unsettled. Moderate Ed Zschau's narrow Senate loss to Alan Cranston in 1986 has been dissected twenty different ways, but the numbers from the last dozen elections don't show a pattern.

The question was moot this year because Mr. Wilson had a walk in the primary. Thus there was no internal debate over basic fiscal choices that face California as never before. Like most other politicians in the state, Mr. Wilson backed the gasoline-tax-increase and rail-bond initiatives that narrowly passed on the June ballot. (They probably passed *because* the GOP had no real contest at the top of the ticket: GOP turnout was down, and Democrats gave the measures the needed margins. The increasing importance of ballot measures is another good reason for the California party not to discourage a healthy fight in June for the sake of unity in November.) Mr. Wilson has yet to play tax hawk in 1990, although the battle lines have been clearly drawn in Sacramento, and Mrs. Feinstein says yes to more revenues. President Bush having muddied the national waters, loyalist Pete didn't even mention the word "tax" during ten minutes of remarks at the July 4 bash. When a Republican candidate for governor comes to Orange County and doesn't talk taxes, you've got to wonder.

As governor, Wilson would need to lean on the taxpayer unless he's willing to curb the voracious growth of state expenditures, which have risen at about 8 per cent a year even with Governor Deukmejian wearing down his blue pencil. And the GOP hopeful has provided little clue of what he would cut. Surely his plan to put marijuana users behind bars would further swell a prison load that is already the biggest component of the spending surge. Another high-ticket item is the public schools. Per-pupil expenditures in California have risen by a third in real terms over the last 15 years, and the education lobby got the voters to build a rising funding floor into the state constitution. Mr. Wilson isn't challenging these "reforms." His running-mate for lieutenant governor, Marian Bergeson, a moderately conservative (and anti-abortion—she's Mormon) state senator from Orange County, *did* mention taxes on July 4 and urges privatization of state services as a way to hold down the budget and put laid-off aerospace engineers to work designing traffic-relief systems. But she's a former schoolteacher, and is no likelier than her running-mate to confront the education lobby.

Set aside natural-resource spending, too—can't imagine Torrey Pines Pete cutting back there—and that leaves welfare as the big budget item. George Deukmejian has been duking it out with the legislature for months on that, but Willie Brown & Co. have written automatic "cost of living" rises into statute, denying the governor a line-item veto of them. A shift in the make-up of the legislature would probably be necessary to reorder priorities, and there's no prospect of that.

As a nominee trying to promise change, Mr. Wilson must skirt blaming Governor Deukmejian for whatever perceived ill he's attempting to exploit. He's trying to do that by instead accusing the Browns, Willie and Jerry (who's now the state Democratic chairman). Although there is much to criticize in the planning bureaucracies that have sprung up independently of the governor, such as the increasingly brazen South Coast Air Quality Management District, Wilson may be reluctant to do that because of his past and present affinity for land-use regulation. If the state economy continues its present slowdown, the issue may be forced on him.

To his credit, Wilson is hitting his opponent hard on her curious pre-primary pledge to reserve half the gubernatorial appointments for women and to select members of minorities in proportion to their percentage of the state population. Mrs. Feinstein is trying to deny that this entails quotas, maintaining these are only targets to be achieved "over time." But in a state buffeted (and, yes, galvanized) by immigration and already torn by admissions controversies at the university system (which is under legislative mandate to admit minorities by a Feinstein-like standard), the issue seems a sure loser for the Democrat. Though he flirted with quotas himself as mayor of San Diego, Mr. Wilson has been willing to press the issue to the point of voting against Ted Kennedy's current civil-rights bill.

MRS. FEINSTEIN'S pandering to women voters, particularly with reference to abortion rights, is a dicier deal. The opinion surveys suggest she's got a winner, but Pete Wilson's support of unsubsidized "choice" and the contrary results of the June primary, in which pro-life candidates won seven of eight contested legislative races, raise doubt.

One female voter who definitely will be heard during the campaign is Senator Wilson's second wife, who evidently enjoys the hustings much more than the first one he divorced. Gayle Wilson capped off the Orange County rally with these forgettable lyrics:

Now I'm here to warn ya,
The fate of California
Will ride on who will fill that seat.
No more agonizin',
No more compromisin',
Further analyzin',
Time for organizin'!
Come on now, let's work for Pete!

"Happy Days Are Here Again," it wasn't. But then, for Republicans, they aren't. □

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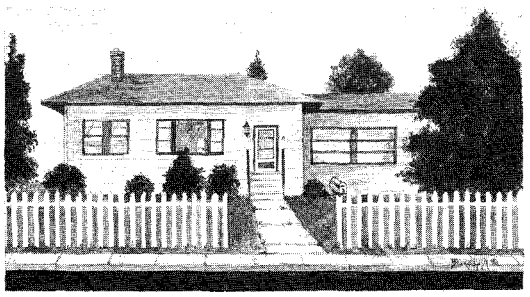
A New Populist Agenda

CONSERVATISM FOR THE PEOPLE



Conservatives have answers to the fundamental problems plaguing American society, but we'll never implement them until we recognize the uses—and virtues—of populism.

PAUL WEYRICH

CONSERVATISM today must pay the price of its own success. Modern American conservatism arose after World War II as a movement of protest, a dissent against the reigning liberalism. Over the course of half a lifetime it became intellectually respectable and increasingly persuasive as liberalism revealed itself as bankrupt. Finally in 1980 a plurality of American voters decided to give the conservatives a chance to govern—not because they were convinced the conservatives had the answers, but because they were sure the liberals did not. Finding the experience satisfactory, they returned conservatives to the Presidency in 1984 and 1988. In fact, by the end of the Reagan Administration, the very word "liberalism" had become a recognized political liability.

But this accomplishment is not equivalent to convincing the American people that conservatism should replace liberalism as their political faith. This is especially evident in the domain of policy, where liberalism remains competitive, perhaps even dominant. This remains so for three reasons. First, liberals possess a coherent agenda, a vision which is a fertile source of policy initiatives. Second, liberalism is an elite movement, and elites are more easily able to translate their ideas into policy. And third, the liberal movement rests on a network of discrete, readily mobilized constituencies which form strong grassroots coalitions.

On the other hand, as a movement of dissent, conservatives have cast much of their agenda in negative terms: anti-Communism, opposition to big government, resistance to ideological egalitarianism. When an opposition movement gains power, however, it must replace the old politics with a coherent new agenda.

The Reagan Administration did not do this. It did not revoke the New Deal or restore state sovereignty or even stop the growth of the Federal Government. With a few noteworthy exceptions (the salutary improvements in the judiciary, the proposal of the Strategic Defense Initiative, the stimulation of the economy through tax cuts) the accomplishments of the Reagan Administration were mainly negative ones: it did less harm than the preceding liberal Administrations.

Even during the Reagan years, the political conversation was mainly about liberal ideas, although now they were being rejected instead of accepted. And the liberals are still putting forward new ideas (federal day care, homosexual rights, disarmament and the peace dividend). Conservatives have to do more than just say no to the liberal agenda; we must have new ideas of our own that can capture the imagination and loyalty of new constituencies. Otherwise the Reagan Revolution will be just an hiatus in the triumphant march of liberal progress.

A new conservative agenda must speak to the concerns Americans feel. At the very time when some intellectuals are hailing the "end of history," ordinary Americans feel insecure about their present and their future. They worry that their children might be entrapped by drugs or that the schools will fail to give them a decent education. They worry about crime and the emergence of an apparently permanent underclass. They worry that their children will be unable to live the American dream—to own their homes or support their families adequately. They worry about declining economic productivity, and worry that tomorrow will be worse, not better, than today.

The unifying theme in these concerns is a sense of

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cultural breakdown, a loss of the moral standards and ideals of excellence that make society function. The conservative agenda must address these concerns by including in its vision of government the role of fostering basic American values—the American culture.

To be effective in this way, our agenda must root itself in the ideals and beliefs which Americans actually hold. America is strong and good because of the virtues which its people have historically lived and which they continue to live today.

Elites v. the People

DEMOCRACY IS the one form of government which depends for its success upon a virtuous people. Democracy works only so long as a sufficient proportion of the people are willing to place the common good above self-interest, and only so long as there is a broad consensus on what constitutes virtue.

In a fundamental sense, democracy represents an act of faith in the virtue of the people, on average and over the long haul. We are not speaking here of a utopianism which assumes that men are angels or can be made such, but rather of a confidence that, on balance, the people prefer good to evil and can be entrusted with the responsibility of self-government.

In earlier historical eras, conservatives had been suspicious of this premise. They have sought systemic safeguards against the passions of the mob and advantages for putatively wiser minorities. This attitude is evident in the conservative tradition on both sides of the Atlantic, and, in context, it was one worthy of respect. But it must be recognized that this implicit longing for aristocracy rested on the premise that there were in fact "aristocrats"—a class of people who were wiser and more virtuous than the mob.

That is no longer a safe assumption. Much of the sense of futility that afflicts our culture today can be traced to the failure of the natural elites in society. When we survey the disarray in the arts, in the academic world, in religion, and in most other culture-forming areas of life, we must candidly admit that the leaders of our society are, by and large, less wise than ordinary people. If virtue and common sense are to be found anywhere, it is most likely to be among the middle class, the despised bourgeoisie, who still affirm those permanent things upon which our culture is based.

Therefore, the time has come for conservatism to sever its old ties with aristocratic romanticism and to embrace wholeheartedly an approach which expresses trust in popular majorities and an expansion of the democratic principle. There is a symmetry here: on the theoretical level, our conservative agenda should draw from the virtues which reside in the people; on the operational level, it should move that agenda forward by emphasizing popular sovereignty—by actively using such devices as initiative and referendum, recall, and term limitation. Of course, we must balance this against the traditional conservative fear of tyranny by the majority. The key to striking such a balance is the principle of subsidiarity. More and more, decision-making authority must be located at the lowest possible administrative level. Conservatives must try to focus policy on the neighborhood, the municipality, the county, and the state.

Ironically, government at the state and local level is still overwhelmingly controlled by liberals, in large part because conservatives have concentrated too much of their attention and energy on Washington. If conservatives intend to advance a governing agenda for America's future, this must be corrected.

Conservative Restoration

THE PRESCRIPTIONS that follow are not intended as a complete conservative agenda. They are examples of policies which address the cultural roots of the challenges facing America today by drawing upon traditional, functional cultural values.

1. We have traditionally championed the free market as both a force for prosperity and a moral imperative among free men. We have been right to do so. But we should also recognize that while a free market is preferable to other forms of economic organization, its benefits are not equally felt. Poverty, especially among working people, is the Achilles' heel of the free market.

Work deserves reward. This principle is credible only if those who work are enabled thereby to support themselves and their families decently. National and state tax codes offer the vehicles through which conservatives can ensure that work is rewarded.

Tax policies should be designed to guarantee that any full-time worker with dependents will have sufficient after-tax income to maintain his family at an acceptable standard of living. This means that the dependent exemption in the income-tax code must be substantially increased; that the earned-income tax credit should be expanded; that workers supporting dependent children should receive rebates on their Social Security taxes; and that child-care tax credits should be offered universally to taxpayers with pre-school children.

This will have the effect of making work more attractive to those in marginal situations, and will reduce (if not eliminate) dependency on government social services among the employed.

2. It is a conservative challenge to combat the consolidation of a permanent underclass. The tax proposals outlined above touch only the economic aspect of this problem, which is cultural at root.

Our goal must be to empower those who are in need to escape the culture of dependence. The test of every benefit must be: Does it offer the poor a real chance to escape welfare? Unfortunately, government indicators stress the number of Americans who are reliant on welfare programs. Success is measured by the magnitude of need, not by the fulfillment of need. A modest step should be to press for new indicators to measure our progress in empowering citizens to move up from dependency.

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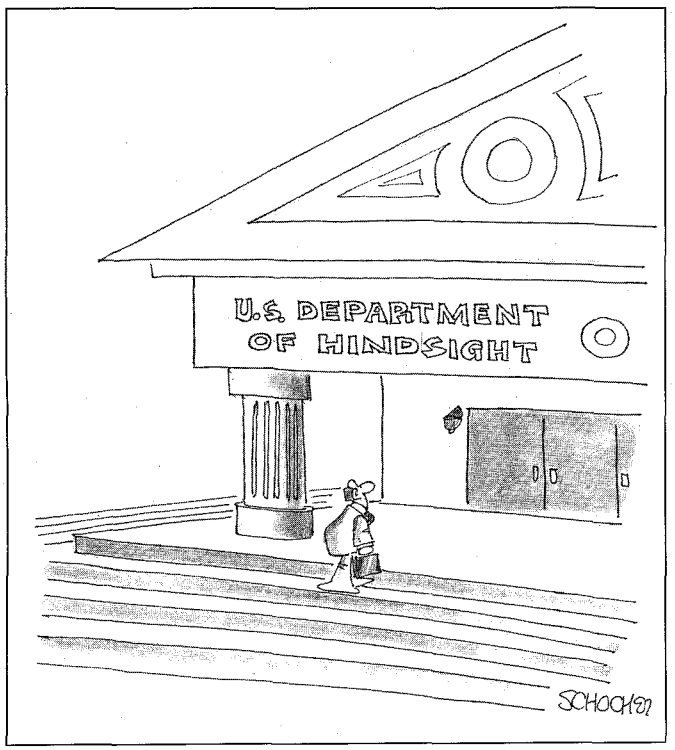
In order to have any success to measure, the conservative agenda must address the cultural roots of the problem. Among the emerging American underclass, functional culture has collapsed. Traditional prohibitions against instant sensual gratification and crime have broken down. Traditional institutions—family, neighborhood, church, school—have lost their hold.

Our policies, therefore, must foster a culture of responsibility, work, and self-respect. To this end, we should link government assistance to behavior that encourages self-sufficiency.

AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) is one example. AFDC fulfills society's responsibility to care for dependent children and affirms that mothers provide this care best. But in practice AFDC is a major factor in the formation of crippled family fragments consisting of teenage mothers and their children. These mother–child units are all but condemned to perpetual poverty. This segment of the government-created underclass would be better served if mothers under age 21 were ineligible for AFDC and other welfare benefits unless they lived with a parent or guardian.



In any case, a mother's entitlement to AFDC benefits is derivative and should be conditioned on her fulfilling her parental responsibilities. For example, it should be conditioned on a child's attendance of school and on the mother's abstinence from drug use and other behavior that reinforces her dependent state.

Since, in most cases, AFDC itself is necessary only because one parent has abandoned his responsibility to support his children, AFDC-dependent mothers should be given financial incentives to identify absent fathers and to assist the government to collect child support from them. In those cases where fathers are unable to provide adequate support, AFDC should function as a "loan" paid to mothers in fulfillment of the father's obligation; a loan to be repaid by the father as his financial condition permits.

The recasting of AFDC is not an agenda in itself but only an example of changes that are necessary throughout our social services; changes that empower the disadvantaged by reinforcing traditional, functional values and by building a culture of self-sufficiency.

3. Martin Luther King was right when he described the family as the "main educational agency of mankind." The ability of parents to select the educational environment for their children is both a right and the cornerstone of educational excellence. Expanding parental choice in our schools is the sine qua non for improving educational opportunity and quality.

We should embrace recent expansions of parental choice among public schools while working to include private schools among the options available to parents. Full parental choice is particularly important in disadvantaged communities where public schools have demonstrably failed. We should press first to expand choice and empower parents in these communities (education enterprise zones).

4. Defense of the right to life responds to such basic American values as compassion for the weak, equality of rights, and reverence for life. Conservatives should not be ashamed to be taking the right position on this question. Our agenda must affirm the right to life.

But we must understand that the vast majority of Americans are profoundly ambivalent on this issue. We must focus the public debate on specific questions that evoke the opposition of the vast majority of the public to the pro-abortion agenda. Our first goals must be to win over mainstream Americans who are uncomfortable with abortion as a means of sex selection or birth control, who believe parental consent should be obtained before a teenage girl receives an abortion, and who believe women should be fully informed before an abortion is performed on them.

And we must recognize that abortion cannot be ended simply by outlawing it. Abortion, like drug abuse, is an example of a culture which holds that the highest moral value is short-term personal convenience and pleasure. In a very real sense, abortion and many of our other problems—drugs, drunk driving, corruption—will not be solved until a cultural-conservative movement creates a new sense of moral responsibility.

5. No one is free if he lives in fear of crime. Every American has the right to walk around his neighborhood during the day or night, to leave his home unattended, to permit his children to walk home from school. When people are denied this right, the sense of community and trust deteriorates; the culture suffers.

We must ensure that Americans are secure in their persons and property. Every neighborhood should have police protection sufficient to deter crime and apprehend most criminals. Often, this will mean more police. Police forces can be strengthened by offering college scholarships or home-buying assistance in exchange for service on the police force (police ROTC). Moreover, volunteers of high-school age should be formed into pla-

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toons under military leadership (a domestic Combined Action Platoon program) to undertake direct, non-violent action in support of the civil peace. Such action might include surveillance, neighborhood presence, and unwelcome group "escort" for drug dealers, buyers, and other criminals.

We must ensure that justice—to the accused, to the victim, and to society—is served. Too often the guilty escape punishment through procedural niceties that elevate form over substance. Court procedure must be brought in line with the central function of the courts—determining guilt or innocence. The establishment of a "good faith" exception to the exclusionary rule is one example of this sort of reform.

And we must ensure that punishment for crime, particularly for violent crime, is appropriate. Punishment should include restitution to victims, in-prison work to defray some of the costs of prosecution and incarceration, and meaningful sentences. Early release should be earned only through some real accomplishment (achieving literacy, earning a general equivalency diploma) and not simply for passive good behavior.

> We must demonstrate that conservatives can and will govern; that our creed goes beyond simply demanding to get government off our backs.

Habitual violent felons must be removed from society. A model is Denny Smith's Measure 4, which was overwhelmingly approved by the voters of Oregon in 1988. Measure 4 denies parole or other forms of early release for second-time violent felons. Conservatives should press for the passage of similar legislation in every state.

This reform package can reduce the crime rate by making the profession of crime less rewarding. It would empower law-abiding citizens by reducing their fear of crime and reviving their respect for the institutions of justice.

6. The drug trade contributes to our rising crime rate. Half of all arrestees test positive for drug use. And drugs have other perfidious effects. Drug use in the workplace leads to accidents and injuries (e.g., the 1987 Baltimore Amtrak disaster) and costs American business tens of billions of dollars annually through lost productivity, increased absenteeism, workplace accidents, medical costs, and theft. Moreover, drug abuse leads to dependence and undermines the cultural values of self-respect, personal responsibility, and self-reliance. Among the poor, it contributes to the creation of an underclass.

Any capitalist knows that as long as there is a market for illicit drugs, there will be producers and suppliers. The only effective way to reduce drug abuse is to reduce the demand for drugs.

We must raise the stakes for drug abusers. One way is to change the DEA's mission from drug confiscation to drug contamination. The DEA should contaminate drugs with a substance that makes users wretchedly ill, preferably with distinctive symptoms. The model here is denatured alcohol, which we have, for decades, made unfit to drink by adding an obnoxious substance.

Another way is to promote widespread testing. Our experience with drug testing in the military confirms that testing works. We should require that inmates in our prisons test drug free prior to release and remain drug free during any probation or parole, and that public officials and federal employees test drug-free. We should encourage private business to test employees for drug use.

Government should not empower addicts to purchase and abuse drugs. Thus we should withhold non-earned governmental benefits (e.g., FHA loans, subsidized college tuition, drivers' licenses, student loans) from convicted drug users.

And, if the drug war is a war, we should consider a formal congressional declaration of war on drugs. The primary purpose of such a declaration would be to disarm the drug trade. Under the declaration of war, any foreign national apprehended for violation of drug laws or any American citizen taken under arms while in possession of drugs would be treated as a prisoner of war. He would have no legal rights beyond those in the Geneva Convention; no right of habeas corpus or of trial. His imprisonment would be of indefinite duration, since he would not be released until the war was over.

7. In order to reduce the power of liberal elites, we must first institute the mechanisms of popular democracy. For example, only half the states now have an initiative and referendum process. Where it exists, the ballot initiative should be the device of choice for pressing constructively polarizing proposals. Where it does not exist, conservatives should demand it as a necessary element of self-government.

Among the other institutional reforms that will accentuate popular democracy are term limitation for office holders (including, especially, judicial term limitation), shorter legislative sessions, the addition of "none of the above" to the ballot, and the localization of government functions.

The Will to Govern

WE *can* solve the problems that face our nation. In so doing, we must demonstrate that conservatives can and will govern; that our creed goes beyond simply demanding to "get government off our backs."

Most of all, by affirming traditional values and the common sense of mainstream Americans, our agenda will effectively polarize the political debate and expose the left-wing agenda as the product of a fringe element hostile to our culture and our civilization. □

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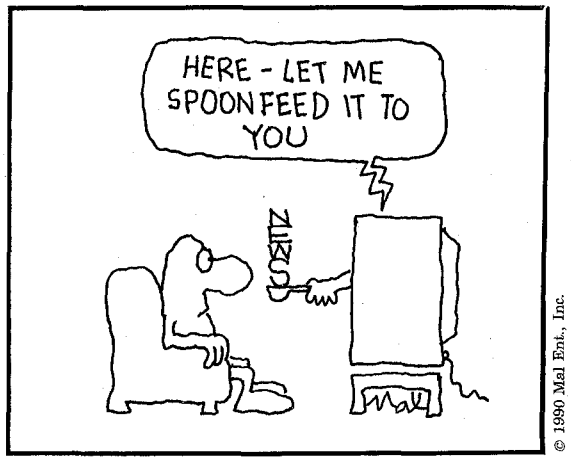

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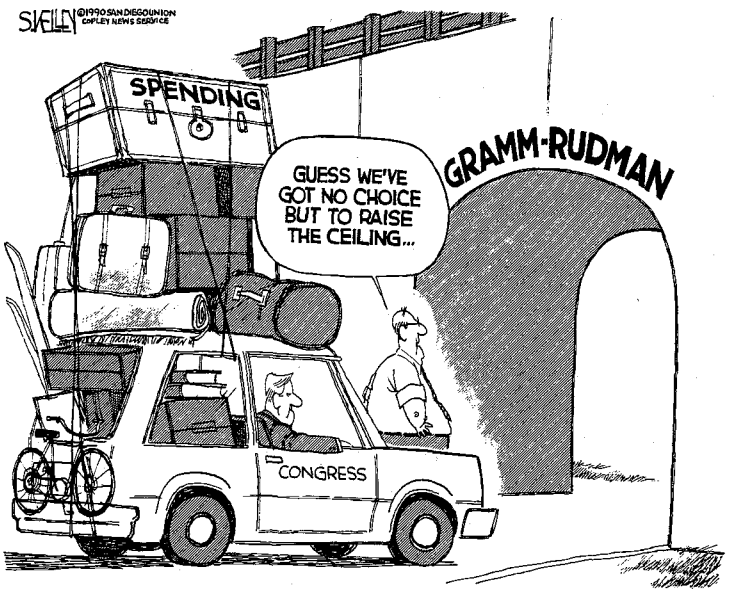
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SPENDING
GUESS WE'VE GOT NO CHOICE BUT TO RAISE THE CEILING...
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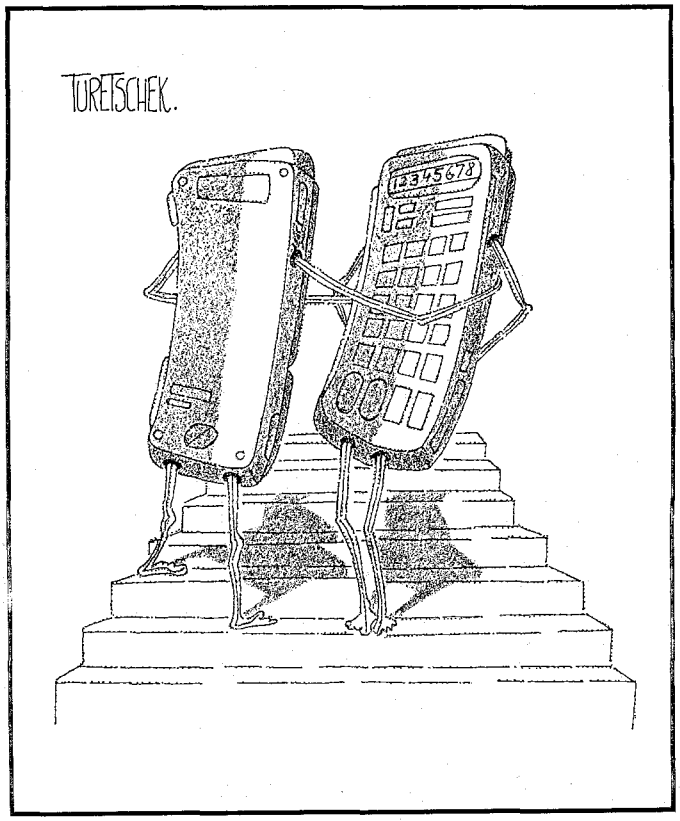
He Came, He Saw, He Taxed

New Jersey's Florio, whose star
  Was rising like a rocket,
Hangs like a string of Christmas lights
  That shorted in a socket.

W. H. VON DREELE



"I must apologize if I seem to be calculating from time to time, but things are programmed all over."

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"RELAX, JUDGE SOUTER. WE ONLY WANT THE RIGHT ANSWERS, LIBERALLY SPEAKING."

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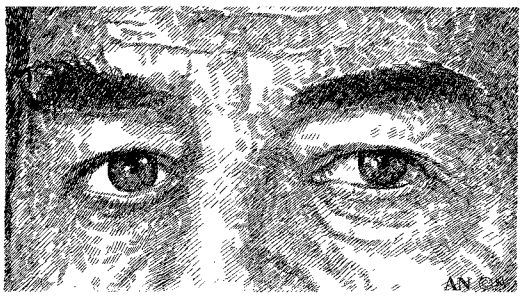
LIKE A WOLF ON THE FOLD



Generations of Western leaders helped make Saddam Hussein the scourge of the Middle East. President Bush can make amends by restoring the status quo ante: the status quo ante Suez, that is.

J. B. KELLY

THERE IS a fable by Aesop about a wolf and a lamb who are drinking from the same stream. The wolf, with an eye to something substantial for lunch, attempts to pick a quarrel with the lamb by accusing it of polluting his drinking water. When the lamb reasonably points out that this cannot be, since he is drinking downstream from the wolf, the latter brushes the explanation aside. Logic is all very well, but lunch is lunch.

Now that the Wolf of Baghdad has come downstream and pounced on plump little Kuwait, allegedly for drawing petroleum by stealth from the North Rumaila field, the Western world is in a fine uproar. It may well be right to be incensed by Saddam Hussein's impiety, especially given the repulsive character of the man and the atrocities he has committed in his own country. But before our reserves of moral indignation are as seriously depleted as our oil stockpiles may be in the months ahead, let us try to get clear in our minds what we are being outraged about, and why.

That an Arab leader should resort to violence to attain his ends is hardly surprising. The outstanding characteristic of Arab political life since the Second World War (to go back no further) is the propensity to employ force to gain one's way. What, then, of the fashionable doctrine of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force? This principle was never invoked against Gamal Abdul Nasser when he endeavored between 1962 and 1967 to conquer Yemen, not even when he used poison gas to try to bring the Yemenis to see reason. And if territorial expansion by conquest is considered iniquitous, what of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which was built upon the conquest of Jabal Shammar, the Hijaz, the Asir, and so on by the late King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud between 1920 and 1934? If his way had not been barred by Britain, then the dominant power in the Gulf, he would have gone on to absorb the smaller Arab sheikhdoms, including Kuwait, which he blockaded from the landward side from 1923 until the eve of the Second World War. (Saudi Arabia, incidentally, has for some time now been siphoning oil from a field which is legally in Abu Dhabi.)

For the Western powers to invoke international law, the sanctity of treaties, and the inviolability of frontiers in relation to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is, to be impolite, sheer nonsense. International law and the comity of nations are Western concepts, not Muslim ones. Arab states may subscribe to the charter of the United Nations but they do not acknowledge the validity of the legal theories that lie at the heart of that document. (Nor do a lot of other members of the UN, but that is another story.) A glance at the record of Arab voting in the UN on issues involving respect for the rule of law will confirm the accuracy of this observation. The arbitrament of the sword is preferred to the more tedious processes of adjudication or arbitration—especially when one's case might be less than watertight.

Our Own Fault

IN ANY EVENT, the Western powers have themselves severely compromised respect for the rule of law in the Middle East by their repeated failure to defend their own legitimate interests in the region. The dismal story began with the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (British Petroleum) in 1951 and of the Suez Canal Company five years later. Although Britain put up a fairly spirited resistance to these larcenies, her efforts were undermined and finally defeated by the United States. The clamorous demands that Saddam Hussein be forced to "disgorge" Kuwait ring a little hollow when set beside the vehement denunciation which proceeded from the United States and elsewhere of Anthony Eden's efforts in 1956 to make Nasser "disgorge" the Suez Canal.

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The bill for the Anglo-French defeat at Suez kept coming in for years afterward in the form of successive arbitrary acts by the Arab states and Iran against Western interests in defiance of solemn agreements and undertakings. A particular target was the Western oil companies, which were subjected to a series of expropriations, sequestrations, and cancellations of concessions, all of them supinely acquiesced to by their own governments. If, as the record shows, the Western powers lacked the resolution to uphold the rule of law in defense of their own interests, why should they now expect a buccaneer like Saddam Hussein to show any more respect for it? Why, for that matter, should he be impressed by the indignation now being expressed by Washington, London, and Paris over his *Anschluss* with Kuwait when these same capitals not so long ago averted their eyes from his systematic gassing of the Kurds in the hundreds, if not thousands?

Calling the Kettle Black

WHERE DOES Kuwait itself stand in all this? The sheikhdom has survived since the eighteenth century by exploiting the endemic rivalry among its larger neighbors and by paying Danegeld to potential aggressors. The talents of the ruling Al Sabah family, as befits a dynasty of merchant-princes, relate more to the counting house than to the martial arts. Successive Al Sabah sheikhs in the nineteenth century submitted to the Ottoman sultan and in return were appointed both *qaim-maqam* (governor) and pasha. When, at the close of the century, the Turks moved to impose more effective control upon the sheikhdom, the Al Sabah found a new protector in Great Britain. On the outbreak of war with Turkey in 1914 Britain recognized the independence of Kuwait and formally guaranteed its defense. The Al Sabah repaid the British by smuggling supplies to the Turks.

The British guarantee stood the Al Sabah in good stead in the succeeding decades, especially against claims advanced at various times by Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran. In 1961 the agreement of 1914 was terminated as being inconsistent with Kuwait's new-found dignity as an oil-rich principality. Almost immediately Britain had to intervene to defend Kuwait from Iraq. The British received scant thanks. Within a few years the Al Sabah crown prince, Sheikh Jabir Al Ahmad Al Sabah (the present emir), was loftily proclaiming that Kuwait would never tolerate any foreign military or naval presence in the Gulf after Britain's intended withdrawal in 1971. More recently, he was far from averse to flagging Kuwaiti tankers with the Stars and Stripes and allowing the U.S. Navy to ensure their safe passage through the Gulf.

Over the past three decades the Al Sabah have conducted the principality's affairs at home and abroad according to their traditional principles of appeasement and equivocation. Diplomatic relations were opened in the 1960s with every country under the sun, East and West. Commercial contracts, arms purchases, and foreign investments were liberally spread around, so that as many governments, industrial enterprises, and financial institutions as possible would have a pecuniary interest in sustaining Kuwait. At home the Al Sabah instituted a lavish welfare system to keep their subjects sleek and happy, although the benefits were reserved for native Kuwaitis, who made up less than half the population. To cultivate a modern image the Al Sabah promulgated a constitution and set up a national assembly, the members of which, when it was allowed to function, spent most of their time vilifying the West.

As a form of insurance against the unfriendly attentions of political radicals in the Arab world, the Al Sabah passed themselves off as patrons of "anti-imperialist" revolutionary movements and champions of Palestinian nationalism. The sheikhdom became a haven for terrorists of every stripe as well as a paymaster of the PLO. When the American ambassador in Khartoum and other diplomats were slaughtered by Black September terrorists in March 1973, the then emir, Sheikh Sabah Al Salim, was asked whether he would continue his financial assistance to the PLO. He replied, "Of course it is continuing, and it is unlimited." His successor today may be ruefully reflecting upon the fact that much of the intelligence acquired by the Iraqi army before the invasion was supplied by Palestinian activists within Kuwait.

While it may appear a harsh judgment, it is nevertheless not unfair to say that the Western powers themselves are largely to blame for the current unhappy state of affairs. If they had not paid such nauseating deference to the Arab oil states over the past two decades, if they had not been so ready to swallow every insult offered them, particularly by Iraq and Saudi Arabia, for the dubious privilege of being allowed to purchase overpriced oil and peddle arms in return, it is unlikely that Saddam Hussein would have grown so bold as to do what he has done. It can only be cate-

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gorized as a monumental failure of policy that the United States, after half a century spent cultivating the Saudi royal house, should find itself in the ignominious position of having to entreat the Saudis to allow themselves to be defended by American arms.

The Western powers now have to do what must be done to bring down Saddam Hussein. But, once again, let us be clear about what we are doing, and why. To banish the Iraqi dictator from

THE NEW NEBUCHADNEZZAR

THE EYES are cold even when a smile is on the lips. They remain cold even when the smile broadens into a gloat of triumph, as happened on the morrow of the dictator's march into Kuwait. When Saddam Hussein swaggers into public view, his bodyguards, their mustaches matching his own in macho emulation, look like so many clones. In their imitation lies the adulation in which he basks.

The comparisons between the invasion of Kuwait and Hitler's march into the Rhineland are more apposite than Anthony Eden's obsessive image of Colonel Nasser as the "Hitler on the Nile." Whatever the Egyptian leader was, he was no Hitler: the taste for blood was deficient. Not so in the case of Saddam Hussein, who kills with no more sign of self-doubt or remorse than when lesser mortals step on ants or swat flies. In this, alas, he is in line with Iraqi precedent. When Nasser and his Free Officers overthrew the Egyptian monarchy in 1952, they merely deported King Farouk, to live out his days in the casinos of the Riviera. When Hussein's predecessor, Abdul Karim Kassim, overthrew the Iraqi monarchy in 1958, King Feisal II was murdered and his prime minister, Nuri al-Said, was beaten to death, and his body dragged through the streets of Baghdad.

Born in 1937, Saddam was orphaned at nine months and raised by an uncle, at whose knee he learned to be anti-colonial and conspiratorial. The uncle, Khairallah Talfah, had a go at a coup in 1941, and was jailed when it failed.

The young Saddam took note. He started school at nine and didn't distinguish himself (but then, neither did Napoleon or Churchill). The Baghdad Military Academy spurned his application. In fury and frustration, Saddam decided then and there to be a general.

Already, in his late teens, he had decided on a political career, though not by the normal channels then available: nepotism and sycophancy. He didn't know the right people anyway. His path was clear: violence, plotting, and the creation of his own network through fear and charisma. In time, aspiring careerists would look to *him* for favor and protection.

The political vehicle he chose was the Ba'ath, or to give it its full name, the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, brainchild of the Damascus thinker Michel Aflaq. The Ba'ath supported Kassim's anti-monarchist coup, then turned against him a year later and plotted to overthrow him. Saddam, having established his credentials by murdering a Communist teacher in Takrit who opposed Saddam's uncle in a parliamentary poll, was picked by the Ba'ath for an attempt to assassinate Kassim ("a great honor," says his authorized hagiography). A setback: the attempt was bungled and Saddam, wounded in the leg, fled to Syria. After six months, he went on to Cairo, cultural capital of the Arab world, to read law. (Reference books credit him with an LL.B.) There is some irony in that choice of study: President Saddam Hussein is reported to have said, many years later: "A law is a piece of paper on which we write one or two lines, then sign 'Saddam Hussein.'"

During his years of exile, Saddam Takriti, as he was then known, decided to drop his second name, which made identification too easy. Instead, he would use his dead father's first name, Hussein. There were very few Takritis, and Husseins by the tens of thousands. Police files would be the more easily confused.

Back in Baghdad, Saddam organized a secret militia for the Ba'ath. In February 1963, the conspirators struck, removing Kassim. Refusing to be blindfolded, Kassim faced the firing squad. The new President, Colonel Aref, picked a relative of Saddam's as his premier: Brigadier Ahmed Hassan Bakr. A mistake: five years later, on July 17, 1968, Aref was overthrown by Bakr.

On the Egyptian model (when the figurehead was President Naguib and the strongman, Colonel Nasser, emerged in his own time), the real power was in Saddam Hussein's hands. In July 1979, Saddam decided his hour had come. Bakr stepped down, and Saddam Hussein took over. He celebrated his victory in typical style a mere fortnight later when an alleged plot was uncovered. On August 8, 21 of the supposed plotters were executed. They included five members of the Command Council and two cabinet ministers.

Having consolidated his power, Saddam, flushed with success, launched his invasion of Iran in September 1980. He had reckoned, wrongly, that the Iranian army, demoralized and weakened by the Shah's departure and the Ayatollah's military purge, would give him a walkover. He had miscalculated: Shiite intransigence matched his own secular variety.

And yet, in the end, after eight years of bloody fighting, it was the Ayatollah who, in effect, sued for peace. The current invasion of Kuwait is the natural sequel for Baghdad's megalomaniac. On the way to his challenge to the world, Saddam Hussein gave several more displays of ruthlessness. In macrocosm, with his appalling massacre of Kurds by nerve gas on March 16, 1988. In microcosm, by the execution of the Iranian-born Farzad Bazoft in March, and of the Iraqi-born Swede Jalil Mehdi in July.

When his own eldest son, Udai, murdered his official food taster, Saddam merely had him imprisoned. After all, Udai was just following in his father's footsteps.

Saddam Hussein is said to see himself as a latter-day successor to Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. If the rest of the world doesn't stop him.

—BRIAN CROZIER

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the Middle Eastern scene and to cut Iraq down to size might well be worth the cost for reasons of grand strategy. But to do it to save the fortunes of the Al Sabah and Al Saud would be simply to persist in the misguided policies which have brought us to the present dangerous pass. □

THE IRAQ CRISIS

HOW TO DEFEAT HUSSEIN

ELIOT A. COHEN

WINSTON CHURCHILL favored a forceful reaction to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, arguing that the consequences of Fascist success would be "quite incalculable." The calamities of the 1930s confirmed this judgment. The stakes in the Persian Gulf today are, if anything, higher, for Saddam Hussein could threaten the West far more seriously than Mussolini ever did. If we do not defeat Saddam a new power will emerge in the Persian Gulf that will dominate the region and perhaps the entire Arab world. That power, deeply hostile to the West and all it stands for, will have nuclear weapons and the strength that comes from untrammeled brutality in the services of limitless ambition.

There are three possible outcomes to this confrontation. The least likely but far from impossible outcome is that Saddam Hussein may ride out the condemnation of the United States, the Soviet Union, and most other countries. Trade embargoes could leak and ultimately break down; harsh words will certainly be dismissed; neighbors may be dissuaded by sheer terror from retaining an unpopular American military presence. Obviously, in this scenario, Saddam would win and win big.

Alternatively, external pressure may require, or shrewd calculation may suggest, that Saddam adopt a two-steps-forward-one-step-back strategy. Iraq would withdraw from Kuwait, although a client regime would remain in place. In this case Saddam would still win. He would have shown that his most outrageous threats were real and he would escape any real penalty; American statecraft would look like a bluff. Within a year European and Asian countries would be quietly trading with and extending credit to Iraq, and oil prices would be higher—Saddam's goal in the first place. Other countries, potential predators and potential prey, would understand that in the post-cold-war world "the strong do what they will, and the weak suffer what they must."

The third possibility is an unambiguous Iraqi defeat including an unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. Given the nature of Saddam's regime, this cannot happen without his fall and perhaps even that of the Ba'athist regime. This outcome, and this outcome alone, can negate Saddam's gains thus far. If dictators of his stamp see that such escapades may cost them their presidential palaces and imperil their heads, they may perceive the cost as outweighing the gains. The United States will have laid down a marker comparable to the one the civilized world should have laid down, but did not, in 1935. But the chances of achieving all this without fighting are, at best, fifty–fifty. It is more likely that the United States will have to pay with blood and treasure, in a war that will leave the Middle East in turmoil for years to come.

The stakes, then, are very high for American statecraft and higher yet for Saddam. The Bush Administration has reacted well, but it now must hammer out a long-term strategy, including a strategy for war. There is a danger that after making harsh statements and deploying vast forces American leaders, who have for a decade ignored Iraqi brutality when they could and tolerated it when they could no longer ignore it, will allow Saddam a disguised but real victory. Already voices are heard suggesting the imprudence or superfluity of actually using force; voices no less reasonable-sounding than those heard in Britain from 1935 to 1939.

The United States has perfected the technology of crisis management but is entrapped by the habit of it. And, indeed, crisis management has been the Bush Administration's approach—build a global coalition against Saddam, deploy multinational forces to Saudi Arabia, and enforce sanctions against Iraq. The "theory of victory" appears to be that Saddam's own people will kill him and be willing to evacuate Kuwait shortly thereafter. We will wave a big stick but do not, deep down, expect we will have to use it.

Danger of Paralysis

THIS MAY be the only sensible course of action thus far, but it has weaknesses that must be faced. The very breadth of the anti-Iraqi alliance will retard effective action, for the more extensive a coalition the weaker its bonds, and the more clumsy its strategic maneuvers. An exasperated French general remarked during World War I, "Since I have fought as a member of a coalition I have lost all respect for Napoleon." Saddam is no Napoleon, but he can count on paralyzing debates about virtually every aspect of action against him. Saddam's strategy will be to break up the coalition, either by diplomacy (an offer to reduce forces in Kuwait and to guarantee the Saudi border) or by force. He could attack Israel or induce the Israelis to attack him by preparing to launch a chemical attack on Israeli cities. This would ignite an Arab–Israeli crisis, and could well make concerted Western–Arab action against him possible. Or Saddam could launch terrorist operations against the United States in the hope of provoking a response from us that would meet the sharp disapproval of our allies. Saddam has begun to work on other divisions already—between Arab leaders and the Arab man in the street, and between rich Arab countries and poor ones.

Even if Saddam does not manage to pry apart this unwieldy array of

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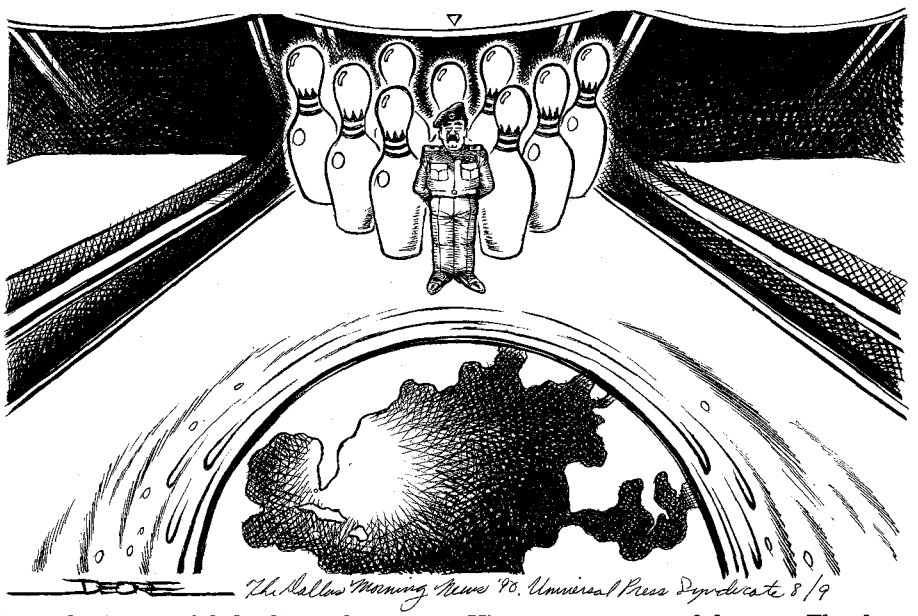
states, other forces may do it for him. Just how long will Saudi Arabia tolerate the presence of 100,000 or more American servicemen, who, soldiers being soldiers, will look for beer and female companionship? What, for that matter, will pious Saudis think of the American servicewomen, who will surely be there? How long will it take before incidents occur (if, for example, we mine Kuwaiti and Iraqi shores) that will cause bitter disputes about whether the time has come to begin a real fight to the finish? And even if the United States makes it past these perils, it must worry about its own constancy over the months, and about the voices that will be heard arguing that no American boy should die for cheap gasoline, or that Americans should not bear the brunt of defending other peoples' territory. And Saddam will prey on every weakness he can find—scattering hostages around potential targets, perhaps, or threatening the lives of Americans and Europeans in even more cruel and direct ways.



He will do these things because he knows, and Americans should understand, that the military edge they and their allies have over Iraq is large. This is chiefly because of our superiority in the air. Americans have grown accustomed to underrating the effectiveness of air power, given its apparent failure in Vietnam. But the situation here is very different, for a number of reasons. The Vietnam War was waged for political control of South Vietnam: insurgency and close combat were its chief currencies, and air power could not play a decisive role in that kind of fighting. The United States chose not to cut North Vietnam off from its main suppliers of arms, China and the Soviet Union, with a long-lasting blockade. Here, presumably, no such restrictions would apply—an onslaught against harbors, bridges, rail lines, and depots could be expected. Vietnamese air defenses were thick and ably manned: the Iraqis are relatively weak in this area. At the very end of the Vietnam War tremendous advances were made in the accuracy and lethality of munitions, and those advances are now incorporated in our arsenals. And the terror inspired by B-52s dropping more than twenty tons of high explosive each—about 12 times the payload of a late-model World War II B-17—is amply evidenced in North Vietnamese and Vietcong accounts of the war. The desert is an ideal medium for the application of air power, and there can be little doubt that the United States Navy and Air Force, with their superb pilots and equipment, would quickly win command of the air. To know what unrestrained air power can do to ground forces in such circumstances look at pictures of the Mitla Pass in Sinai in June 1967. Allied ground forces may not, it is true, be adequate to turn the Iraqis out of Kuwait, but that is neither necessary nor desirable. And Iraqi chemical attacks, though terrifying, would bring about an even more devastating reaction from what is, Saddam will remember, an amply equipped nuclear power.

One cannot predict the precise circumstances under which American power may be unleashed, or the exact nature of the difficulties to which a war would give rise. But there are some general principles to be followed. First, President Bush should pay attention to the domestic side of strategy, overcoming his instinct to run this war by working the telephones. He must build popular support at home, and lay the groundwork for a congressional declaration of war. Secondly, the Administration must gear up for a long conflict. Its members must pace themselves, remembering that during World War II Army Chief of Staff George Marshall headed for home every day by 5:00 P.M. Tired men (and women) make bad decisions. It should also begin revising the defense budget to secure the resources it will need for the long haul, and if that means scrapping painfully worked-out budget plans, so be it. Thirdly, the Administration must assume that its preferred strategy will probably fail. American leaders must come to private conclusions about the tradeoffs between freedom of action and coalition consensus, between foreign support and decisive results, and they must act on those conclusions.

No One-Night Stand

FOURTH and finally, the Administration must understand that war leadership and crisis management are two different things, that what lies before us is not a Panama-style walkover or a Libya-style one-night shooting spree. It should heed, and remind all of us of, Churchill's musings on another war between unqual antagonists: "Let us learn our lessons. Never, never, never believe any war will be smooth and easy, or that anyone who embarks on the strange voyage can measure the tides and hurricanes he will encounter. The statesman who yields to war fever must realize that once the signal is given, he is no longer the master of policy but the slave of unforeseeable and uncontrollable events. Antiquated war offices, weak, incompetent, or arrogant commanders, untrustworthy allies, hostile neutrals, malignant fortune, ugly surprises, awful miscalculations—all take their seats at the council board on the morrow of a declaration of war. Always remember, however sure you are that you can easily win, that there would not be a war if the other man did not think he also had a chance." □

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CIVIL WRONGS

BIG BROTHER'S TEST SCORES

ROBERT G. HOLLAND

THIS MAY, I received from an anonymous government employee some information concerning the way various government employment agencies score the tests that prospective workers take, a method the whistle-blower and I have helped bring to public scrutiny.

The scam worked like this: Say four men—one black, one Hispanic, one white, one Asian—came into a Virginia Employment Service office in search of a job. If the prospective employers wanted tested applicants, the four would all take the same Validity Generalization version of the General Aptitude Test Battery (VG-GATB), a test with both paper-and-pencil and manual-dexterity sections. Assume that each made a composite score of 300 and that all four were interested in an accountant's position.

None of them would ever see that 300 score. Instead, the numbers would be fed into a computer, and what would emerge would be the applicants' percentile ranking, with the owner of the highest ranking presumed to be the best qualified worker. But, you may say, with identical scores they would all be in the same percentile.

If you say that, you are reckoning without the ingenuity of the bureaucrats in charge of racial balance. For in fact [see box], the black would be ranked in the 87th percentile; the Hispanic, in the 74th; and the Asian and the white way down in the 47th—on the way to the personnel department's inactive file, a/k/a the circular file.

These results are achieved via "race norming," which uses the "within-group scoring" method. That is, instead of being measured against a control group representative of all those who take the test, an individual is measured against a control group composed only of members of his own racial group (black, Hispanic, and the unflattering category of "other").

The fault does not lie in the GATB, a test of cognitive, perceptual, and motor skills which the U.S. Employment Service (USES) began to use in 1947. The GATB has earned respect as an evaluative instrument. Studies repeatedly have shown that it is not stacked against minorities and that it is a rather accurate predictor of job performance.

However, without getting into the debate over what *causes* differences in group performance, we have learned that tests that measure such performance objectively screen out a high proportion of test-takers from certain groups. Hence there arose considerable pressure during the Carter Administration for a revised GATB.

In 1981 the USES offered state employment agencies new, improved version of the GATB, which extended applicability of the test by generalizing (hence Validity Generalization) from the five hundred jobs originally covered to all 12,000 jobs in the U.S. economy. Advocates claimed that the economy could realize $80 billion in productivity gains by using the new test extensively. Unfortunately, the bureaucratic geniuses promptly killed whatever promise the new system had by installing—without public announcement, let alone debate—within-group scoring.

The New Discrimination

SOME FORTY states were making at least limited use of VG-GATB by November 1986, when William Bradford Reynolds, then the assistant attorney general for civil rights, challenged the way the test was applied.

Reynolds wrote to the director of the USES charging that within-group scoring constituted unlawful discrimination by "requiring Job Service offices to prefer some and disadvantage other individuals based on their membership in racial or ethnic groups." Officials of the Labor and Justice Departments then negotiated an agreement that testing would not be further expanded until a panel of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) had conducted "a thorough, scientific evaluation" of the system.

The NAS report that came out in May 1989 constitutes perhaps the sorriest chapter in the whole saga—the perversion of science to political ends. At one point, the chairman of the NAS panel, Yale statistician John T. Hartigan, was quoted as saying that "this committee is not about to put a scientific fig leaf on a naked political argument." But, according to Dr. Jim Sharf of the Office of Personnel Management, that is precisely what the prestigious panel did.

The report confirmed the predictive value of the GATB and its lack of discrimination against blacks. Thus, as University of Delaware sociologist Linda Gottfredson wryly noted, the panel had to "find a scientific justification for race norming other than the bias or irrelevance of the tests."

What it came up with was a lollapalooza of a fig leaf: the

Percentile Conversion Tables

Jobs are grouped into five broad families: Family I includes, for example, machinists, cabinet makers, and tool makers; Family II includes helpers in many types of agriculture, manufacturing, and so on; Family III includes professional jobs such as accountant, chemical engineer, nurse, editor; Family IV includes bus drivers, bookkeepers, carpet layers; Family V includes exterminators, butchers, file clerks. A raw score of 300 would convert to the following percentile rankings:

	I	II	III	IV	V
Black	79	59	87	83	73
Hispanic	62	41	74	67	55
Other	39	42	47	45	42

Sources: Virginia Employment Commission; U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Validity Generalization Manual (Section A: Job Family Scoring).

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BROOKINS
YOUNG MAN, YOU WERE CAUGHT RED-HANDED CHANGING GRADES IN YOUR TEACHER'S GRADE BOOK, AND THEN YOU BLAMED SOMEONE ELSE!... DO YOU KNOW WHAT THAT COULD GET YOU?"
A JOB AS DIRECTOR OF THE VIRGINIA EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION?!
PRINCIPAL'S OFFICE

"false negatives" of marginal scorers who might be capable of a barely adequate performance on the job. Because there are proportionately more black low scorers than white, there are also more blacks with "false negatives." Thus the panel grandly concluded that "the disproportionate impact of the selection error provides scientific grounds for the adjustment of minority scores."

The Dirty Iceberg

ALTHOUGH proof is hard to come by, VG-GATB could be just the tip of a dirty iceberg of race norming. I. A. Ryanen, a veteran personnel officer of the Los Angeles school district, has said: "I stand in absolute awe of the innovations in the art of camouflaging color-conscious selection procedures in merit-system wrappings." There are some hints here and there. White police officers in Chicago last fall asked a federal judge to order the city to "cease the clandestine and covert manipulation of results" of police tests. The makers of the E. F. Wonderlic Personnel Test sent out a flyer a few years ago lauding "top-down selection within racial and ethnic groups," although it did not say Wonderlic uses race norming itself.

Businesses have acquiesced in the practice of race norming, since it helps them stay out of the trap laid by the Supreme Court in *Griggs* v. *Duke Power Company* (1971). That decision essentially recrafted the employment mandate of the 1964 Civil Rights Act from equal opportunity for individuals to equal results for groups. As a result, businesses have rightly feared lawsuits. Race-normed tests help get them off the hook.

To be sure, they have not known how thoroughly the test results were cooked, nor do the scholarly or government critics of the policy. Clint Bolick, who was point-man in Brad Reynolds's 1986 challenge of the VG-GATB, told me he could not gain access to the percentile conversion tables.

As always, the real victims are the individuals behind the abstractions. A white job-seeker who is given a low score will not be recommended for a job for which he may be fully qualified; furthermore, he will get an additional blow to an ego already bruised by being unemployed. One veteran factory worker, Larry P. Holman, who had been laid off and was trying to start over in another state, told me, "I thought, on top of everything else, I'm stupid." The blacks who take the test also suffer: a minimally qualified candidate placed through covert race norming may wind up with an unrealistic expectation of his ability, thus setting him up for a fall; and the highly qualified will suffer from the stigma of suspicion that he may have been aided by race norming.

On July 10, Labor Secretary Elizabeth Dole initiated action to suspend use of VG-GATB pending a two-year study. I'm told that what brought the issue to a head was the *Washington Times*'s prominent reprinting, on June 7, of my column in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* which brought to light some of the details of the actual percentile conversion tables. However, the purpose of Secretary Dole's study is merely to re-establish the test "by making it more comprehensive and job-related and by minimizing disparities in scores among various groups."

In 1892, Homer Adolph Plessy, boarding a train in New Orleans, was barred from the "whites only" section because he was one-eighth black. A century later, he could classify himself as white when taking a job test, but he would be crazy to do so, since that act could cost him 20, 30, even 40 percentile points and maybe his livelihood. So a nation that once seemed bound toward the color-blind society dreamed of by Martin Luther King has taken a U-turn and wound up back at separate but unequal. □

Mr. Holland is associate editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

ELEPHANT RACES

SENATE INTRAMURALS

JACK FOWLER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—It's only August, and the general elections are still months off. Yet Capitol Hill is already looking beyond November toward January, when the two parties in each House of Congress will hold their leadership elections. Without doubt the most important battles will take place among Senate Republicans, with as many as four of the six top posts up for grabs.

Conservatives by and large welcome

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such battles, given the go-along-to-get-along attitude of the current leadership. For the leaders can set their own agenda without regard to the wishes of the rank-and-file. For example, President Bush's flip-flop on taxes would have been unthinkable without the support of the Minority Leaders of the House and Senate respectively, Bob Michel (Ill.) and Robert Dole (Kan.), the two most pro-tax Republicans in Congress today. Both these men attended the critical June 29 breakfast with House Speaker Tom Foley and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell. Had the minority leaders been articulate anti-tax conservatives and party-policy defenders like Representative Henry Hyde (Ill.) and Senator Bill Armstrong (Colo.), it's doubtful any call for tax hikes would have taken place.

"The general public has no idea how important these races are," says a key congressional leadership aide. "They can be as least as important as Cabinet appointments and sometimes much more so."

Right now the six top Senate GOP leaders are Minority Leader Dole, Whip Alan Simpson (Wyo.), Conference Chairman John Chafee (R.I.), Conference Secretary Thad Cochran (Miss.), Policy Committee Chairman Bill Armstrong, and Senatorial Committee Chairman Don Nickles (Okla.). Of them, only Dole and Simpson (who is sound on many issues but weak on abortion and taxes) hold safe positions. No one is expected to challenge them, but conservative gains in the second tier of the leadership not only would put the Right in better shape for the next battle, they would also make Dole and Simpson more responsive to conservative demands.

On Your Mark . . .

REPUBLICAN staffers say that a number of senators, none of whom has formally or publicly announced, are now maneuvering for the four remaining leadership positions. The sharpest fighting will be over the GOP Conference chairmanship.

The incumbent chairman, John Chafee, gets high marks for his running of the Conference. However, Chafee does not back the Administration on crucial votes and he has a poor record of voting with his party. These two factors have a sizable number of Republicans wishing for his ouster.

One senator who may move to exploit Chafee's vulnerability is Conference Secretary Thad Cochran. A popular and respected Southerner, the only one in the Senate GOP leadership, Cochran appeals to both conservatives (lifetime ACU: 76) and moderates, and has proved to be an effective intra-party bridge builder. All this makes him a natural for the chairman's post.

To run for chairman, however, Cochran would have to relinquish his post as Conference secretary. Already, four senators are eyeing that post. Of the four, only Minnesota's Rudy Boschwitz (lifetime ACU: 63) has previous leadership experience. As chairman of the Senatorial Committee, Boschwitz helped oversee and fund the 1988 Senate Republican campaigns. But those elections resulted in a net loss of one Senate seat in the midst of George Bush's landslide, and Boschwitz found himself back among the rank-and-file. His ticket out would be the secretary post.

The second hopeful is Slade Gorton (Wash.), who first came to the Senate in 1980, lost his re-election bid in 1986, but rebounded in 1988 by winning an open seat. Although his lifetime ACU rating is only 54 per cent, Gorton has been moving steadily to the right; his 1989 rating was 75. Last year Gorton founded the "214 Group," which advocates Republican alternatives to Democratic legislation and strategies. Gorton's main drawback is personal rather than ideological: he has a reputation for arrogance, and one political biography says: "His image as an icy intellectual contributed to his defeat" in 1986.

The remaining two candidates are both committed conservatives: Bob Kasten of Wisconsin and Kit Bond of Missouri. Both are longshots—Kasten because he has a history of getting cold feet and pulling out of tough races, Bond because he is only in his first term, having been elected in 1986. However, both are strongly partisan and principled, and conservatives should welcome either.

Holding the Fort

THE RETIREMENT of Bill Armstrong, chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, will create another leadership opening. Both Senatorial Committee chairman Don Nickles and New Mexico Senator Pete Domenici, the Budget Committee's ranking Republican, are aiming for the job, which, as its name implies, is the most ideology-sensitive of all the leadership posts. It has been a conservative stronghold under Armstrong, and many on the Right are unwilling to see it shift toward the center, which would happen if the pro-tax Domenici (lifetime ACU: 65) took the reins.

Nickles, on the other hand, is viewed as one of the Senate's rising stars and more polished conservatives. He could see his chances for succeeding Armstrong improve if the GOP gains any Senate seats this November.

Whether or not Nickles enters the Policy race, his tenure at the Senatorial Committee ends with the 101st Congress. Already the post has attracted two candidates: Phil Gramm (Tex.) and Mitch McConnell (Ky.), both of whom are up for re-election this year.

Of all Republican incumbents, McConnell will have the most difficult time winning re-election to the Senate. He faces a strong challenger in a state where Democratic registrations outnumber Republican registrations 4 to 1, although as of now McConnell (ACU: 85) has the edge. Should he clear that hurdle, the Senatorial Committee job would be a natural for him, given his track record over the last two years of protecting Republican interests by leading the fight, on the Senate floor and in negotiations, against a highly partisan Democratic campaign-reform package.

Gramm, meanwhile, is figured to win re-election easily, but is nevertheless going all out to raise money for his campaign—perhaps as much as $20 million. A Senatorial Committee chairman has to be able to bring in the big bucks, and Gramm is proving he can do it. One of the Senate's most outspoken conservatives, he also has an ambitious streak: many believe he's gunning for the Presidency. The Senatorial Committee post could be the next rung up that ladder.

So prospects look good for conservatives' maintaining, and even improving, their position. But, as one GOP staffer on the Hill cautions, "significant change will happen only when the *top* of the leadership changes—or when they decide to shape up." □

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FEMINISM IN PRIME TIME

ROSEANNE BITES MAN

JIM ATKINSON

THOSE OF you who first heard about Roseanne Barr when she sang the national anthem off-key at the San Diego Padres game may not have grasped the fact that they had encountered a sure-fire Media Phenomenon, maybe even a full-fledged Social Phenomenon. Her talent extends beyond a natural gift for Brechtian alienation. She is no mere bundle of comic sensations. She comes equipped with a moral. And so do her jokes.

On *Phil Donahue* recently, Miss Barr was recounting with delight a tale of how her grandmother had slugged a son-in-law for some minor transgression. "It was wonderful," she commented. Yes, we are in the presence of one of the fighting feminists, the Hulk Hogan of feminism in fact, who always gives no for an answer. A tough babe, but given withal to philosophical reflections: "I guess every woman goes through a period when she hates men." Sorry, guys, but that's the opinion of us held by women (you know, Mother Teresa, Madonna, Margaret Thatcher, and all the girls).

Her sitcom gives us a chance to see a blue-collar feminist with the gloves off. Informed that a wife had stabbed her husband 37 times, Miss Barr commented: "I admire her restraint." This translates as: "Take my husband—please." The jokes which, when applied to mothers-in-law, were condemned as crude exploitation of vicious stereotypes, now reappear in cross-dressing to progressive applause. Apparently, it was not the crudity to which the anti-sexists objected—for such an objection would require Miss Barr's thorough Bowdlerization—but the sexual identity of the original targets. Reverse sexual stereotypes are . . . politically correct. Now it is always men who play the butt. When stickers used to read, "This joke degrades women," the sticker was Social Criticism; if a sticker were now to state, "This joke degrades men," the social criticism would be the joke.

Barbara Ehrenreich, musing on

Shannon Jeffries

Miss Barr for *The New Republic*, anointed her the much-needed Second Coming of feminism, a breath of foul air for a women's movement grown slack with age and yuppie pampering. "Yeah, she's crude," admits Miss Ehrenreich, "but so are the realities of pain and exploitation she seeks to remind us of." And she quotes that other madonna of the Left, Mary "Mother" Jones: "Whatever you do, don't be ladylike." Sensible if redundant advice for Miss Barr, since any such attempt would be one of those embarrassing occasions when the observer is unsure if the comic effect is really intended.

Comic effects are, admittedly, a matter of taste. And a top TV rating is irrefutably democratic proof that Miss Barr makes a lot of people laugh. But my own taste says that, as a comedienne, Miss Barr is a cunning marketeer who has figured out how to parlay a form of vulgar reverse sexism into stardom. She noticed two things: a gap in the market for comedy, and a social climate favoring man-bashing.

"Too many men out there have decided that they don't want to grow up. They want to stay little boys and they want to fight and they want to do the things that they do with the little Army men, but they don't want to have relationships." That wisdom came from Claudette Sims on a *Donahue* show entitled "Women Who Hate Men." Miss Sims is an "expert" (i.e., author on a publicity tour).

Man-bashing is itself a recognized Social Phenomenon, having acquired those two requisites of a cultural trend: expensive studies and an ad hoc protest group—Men's Rights Inc. in Sacramento, California. Men's Rights, headed by Fred Hayward, is the Common Cause of man-bashing, reviewing advertisements and issuing a newsletter.

For man-bashing turns up not only in the outright insults of sitcom characters, but in the (slightly) more subtle stereotyping of the sort that once upset women's libbers. A special awardee in Hayward's poll was the print ad for Stay-Put shoulder pads: "They're like a good man: a little bold, a little square, around when you need them. . . . They never lose their shape. Which is more than you can say for most men."

Then there is the publishing industry. A handful of recent titles includes *Men Who Can't Love*, *Women Who Love Too Much*, and *Men Who Hate Women and the Women Who Love Them*. Hayward even suggests that there's a kind of hit mentality creeping into book publishing. "Two authors told me about pressure from their editors to create anti-male titles as a way of increasing sales," he said.

All of this is having its effect. The Roper Organization recently reported on a random poll of women in which most of them said that they found men oversexed, self-centered, and lazy. But a lot of this rancor seems to stem from women being mad at themselves. Listen to Ellen Merlin, a vice president of Philip Morris, which sponsored the Roper study: "Women are handling so many aspects of life—trying to achieve success in careers, wanting to be a

(Continues on page 52)

Mr. Atkinson, a contributing editor of Texas Monthly, *is currently working on his third book, on the rise and fall of the Sunbelt.*

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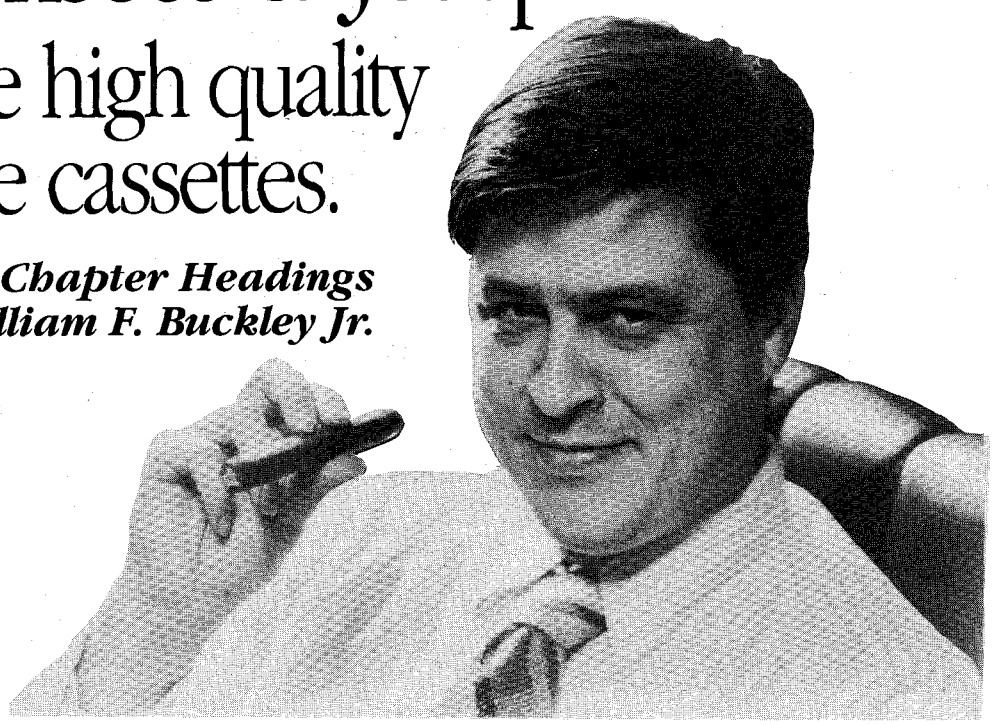

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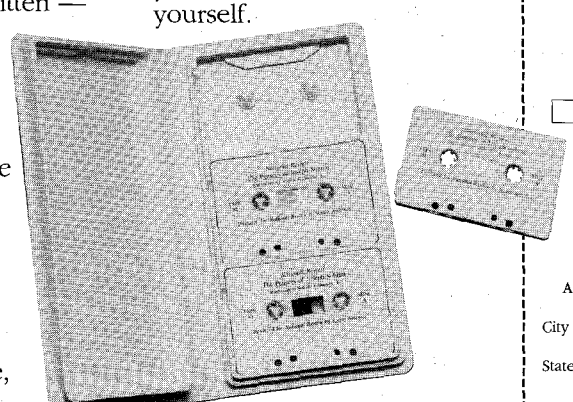

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Democracy of the Dead

MICHAEL COREN

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON, the sage for all seasons, reviewing a hopeful arriviste's manuscript on one occasion, described it as both good and original. However, the piquant lexicographer added, what is good is not original; and what is original is most certainly not good.

To what extent this critique may be applied to contemporary society lies at the heart of these two volumes about the classical world, and assaults the emetic solipsism of the last quarter-century. I breathe, therefore I am. The dictatorship of the living. The belief that the past is redundant, or mechanically and inevitably surpassed in the maelstrom of chronology. To many in seats of letters and learning in the West, philosophy, history, and literature are deemed to have begun only in 1789.

Imagine a man crossing a river by way of steppingstones: if he leaps from the bank to the middle stone, he loses his balance and topples; if he walks stone by stone, he is stable, his footing sure. Is the footing of the current generation of graduates and teachers sure? The question is as rhetorical as its answer is baleful. The attempt to expunge classicism from education and society is already well under way. We have fiddled whilst Rome is spurned.

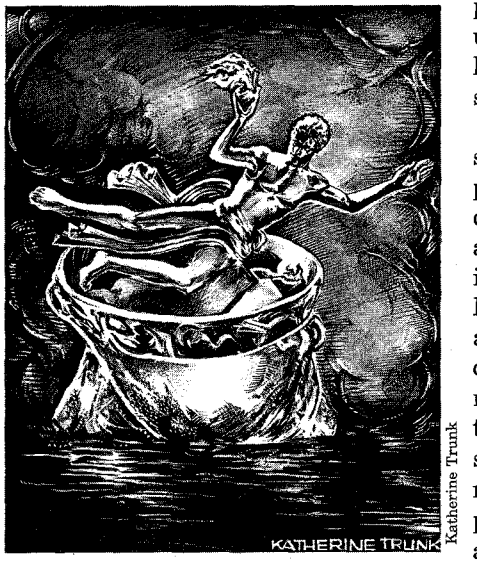
Greek Fire, by Oliver Taplin (Atheneum, 276 pp., $29.95)

Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism, by Paul Veyne (Allen Lane/Penguin, 512 pp., $27.95)

Bread and Circuses is not new, but a translation by Brian Pearce of Paul Veyne's seminal work originally published in France (1976). Gallic historical writing is hardly renowned for its streamlined prose, and this translation is prolix and unpredictable. Its worth, however, lies not in its accessibility but in its analysis.

Mr. Coren's biography of G. K. Chesterton was recently published by Paragon House. His life of H. G. Wells will be published by Atheneum next summer.

At the center of its thesis is a question: Why did ancient Rome's patrician classes offer munificent gifts ("benefaction") to the masses? These donations were seldom meager, and included buildings, feasts, institutes, and entertainments. The meals invariably included much more than bread, and the entertainments were far more substantial than mere circuses. The phrase "bread and circuses" was, in fact, Juvenal's contemptuous and misleading reference to the apparently easily satisfied Roman plebeians; he desired them to know their place but, anticipating modern liberal wisdom, wished to define that place for them. Unlike so many present-day historians, Professor Veyne carried no ideological luggage on his quest, had no desire to blacken any reputations. He chose three cultures—the Greek cities of the later Hellenistic period, the Roman Republic, and the Roman Empire—and applied the same inquiry to each.



Katherine Trunk

The author's assumption is that the genius of the ancient world lay not in a rejection of class structure, but in a percipient and empathetic comprehension of it. The almost religious dedication to philanthropy was motivated in part by three things: It satisfied the cravings of the masses and ensured their loyalty. It codified the forms of public enjoyment and organized its regularity. And it provided perennial reminders of the superiority of the ruling elite.

The systems they built worked with graceful success and triumph. Romans and Greeks adopted the ethos of empire, it is true; but on their journeys of conquest they took with them religious toleration, advanced technology, language and literature, a higher life expectancy, and eventually, in the case of Rome, the Christian religion. One is reminded of the Monty Python movie in which a risible Judean revolutionary asks rhetorically: "What have the Romans ever given us?" The answer grows ever longer—roads, water supply, law and order, communications—until the embarrassed radical petulantly shouts for his comrades to desist.

The verisimilitude of this scenario is staggering—particularly to certain pedagogues who fear precedents that contradict their position. Rome above all epitomized an idea the modern intellectual undervalues: citizenship. Romans were obliged to participate in a symbiotic and all-embracing social contract; the giving of gifts, more noble than taxation and less altruistic than charity, was intrinsic to their secular covenant. Citizenship demands obligation, sacrifice, and discipline in order to enjoy liberty, gain, and protection. It is give-and-take, rather than give-and-give, and take-and-take. From the glory that was Rome to the gluttony that is modernism. As Father George Rutler has written, "Society is burdened by social critics who boast little awareness of the artifacts of civilization, whose word processors are bloodless, and who do not feel the pulse of whole ages."

The immutable moral hierarchy was

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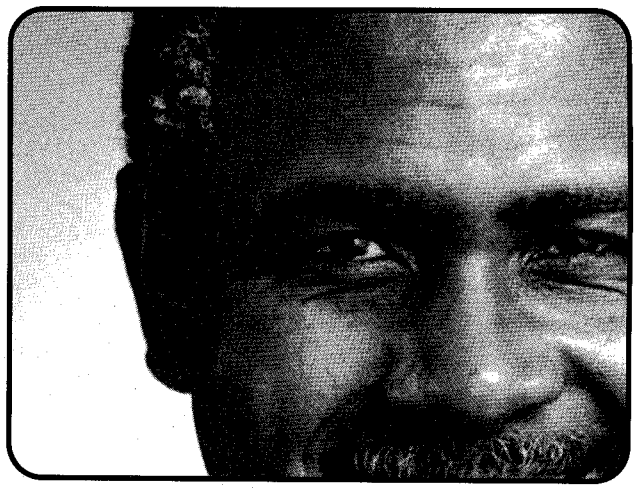

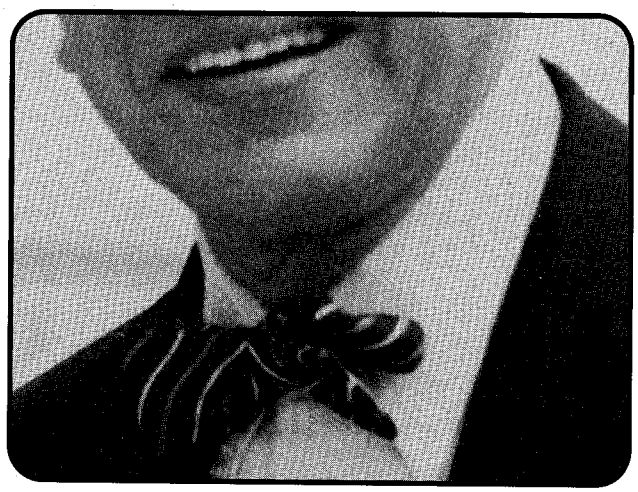

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a Greek idea, and ideal, which reaches down to the present day. It is one of the aspects of Hellenism so poignantly depicted in Oxford academic Oliver Taplin's *Greek Fire,* essential reading as a corrective for those who have been more interested in Plato's supposed pederasty than in his Republic. The achievements of ancient Greece have suffered a different fate from those of Rome, but an equally impious one. Rather than having been ignored, they have been distorted, vulgarized, and exploited.

Mr. Taplin's work is designed to coincide with a documentary series (premiering in August on the Arts & Entertainment Network), and is suited for the coffee table as much as the library shelf. That factor does not detract from its verve and stature. The author has not let television (a word of half-Greek, half-Roman etymology) interfere with his approach. The book is a conspectus, dividing Greek accomplishments into ten distinct chapters and focusing not so much on their history and content as on their influence over the modern, and particularly the English-speaking, world. This is partly wisdom, partly necessity: introducing the cornucopian outpourings of Aristotle, Mr. Taplin modestly explains, "There is simply not room for me to pursue everything." Indeed there is not. Nor should there be. Better to challenge a smaller field in depth than to fail in a quixotic effort to examine every tenet of Hellenism.

The American political and governmental system traces its origins to Republican Rome, not to Greece, and that is perhaps a shame. The Athenians despised professional politicians and anonymous bureaucrats with an inexorable and often violent passion. Such wholesome antipathy should be recalled by all of us. Those who habitually gesture toward the examples of Greek democracy seldom understand their own reference. The Greek aspiration was participation by all, not rule by a self-appointed and incestuous class of opinion-formers obsessed with consensus. Even Plato demanded qualification for membership of his elite.

"Greece is the geology underlying the mental landscape of Western civilization," writes Mr. Taplin. "The Greeks marked out the map of our conceptual geography and set the categories by which we order our perceptions." The desire, the discipline, to organize our reflections and ideas in a consistent, structured manner owes its very existence to Aristotle. Likewise, the bulwarks of modernist thought, the sounding-boards of nihilism, atheism, and selfism, derive however illegitimately from the founding Greeks. Friedrich Nietzsche wrote that "The oracle proclaims to you at the beginning of your wanderings: Know Thyself. It is a hard saying, for 'the lord of the Delphi neither speaks out nor conceals, he offers signs,' as Heraclitus said." Socrates was more concise: "The unexamined life is not worth living."

Both of these volumes are dramatically successful, both carry a belief and a caveat. The belief is that we are shaped, scolded, and solidified by history and its lessons. The caveat is that the ladder of the past is under interminable assault, its rungs attacked not from the front with razor-sharp saws, but from behind with insidious bites. How better to smash an opponent than to begin at the root of his ideology, and slash away until there is nothing left but the Left?

H. G. Wells, the Stalinist doyen, educated a generation with his revisionist *The Outline of History*. During the composition of the tome he delivered a public lecture to a group of young people. One of them inquired about a folder of papers in Wells's car. "Today I've motored from Stonehenge, and you may care to know that I polished that off in forty minutes." The neophyte expressed skepticism, arguing that the phenomenon had perplexed antiquaries for a thousand years. "Very likely, but anyhow I've settled it to my satisfaction," replied Wells. "I've left a couple of experts behind; they have a fussy kind of knowledge that looks well in a footnote." Wells died a madman. His opinions live on. Blessings to that fussy kind of knowledge. □

New Blood

JAMES SHENFIELD

THE Immigration Act of 1965, which repudiated the national-origins quotas that had governed immigration for most of this century (while claiming to ensure little or no disruption to America's ethnic composition), has lately come under close scrutiny. In the late Six-

Economic Consequences of Immigration, by Julian L. Simon (Basil Blackwell/Cato, 402 pp., $29.95)

ties, European professionals, scientists, and engineers, who had previously been able—with their families—to enter the U.S. more or less at will, were pushed out of line by their counterparts from India, Korea, Taiwan, and elsewhere. Those first Asians used the family-preference system to its full potential in what is known as "chain immigration." Within a decade, a single skilled immigrant could easily generate 25 visas for brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, and in-laws—some skilled, some not. The earliest post-1965 Asian (and Latin American) immigrants were very well educated—among the best-educated groups ever—since most of their visas were obtained under occupational and skills preferences. The accomplishments of their children in American schools were extraordinary.

But this flow of talent has now been so diluted that the average educational level of Asian immigrants has dropped by about two school years since 1970. Skilled immigrants are in short supply. And it has been predicted that by the year 2000 more than half of all new workers in the labor force will be from minorities; half of their numbers will be immigrants. It is against this background that America is debating the reform of chain immigration.

Into the controversy comes Julian Simon's book, which claims that America's front door should in fact be opened even wider. Mr. Simon's research indicates that immigrants always have constituted, and in all probability will continue to constitute, a positive economic force rather than the mass of job-usurpers and wallowers in the public trough often por-

Mr. Shenfield is a director of the Washington Institute for Policy Studies in Bellevue, Wash.

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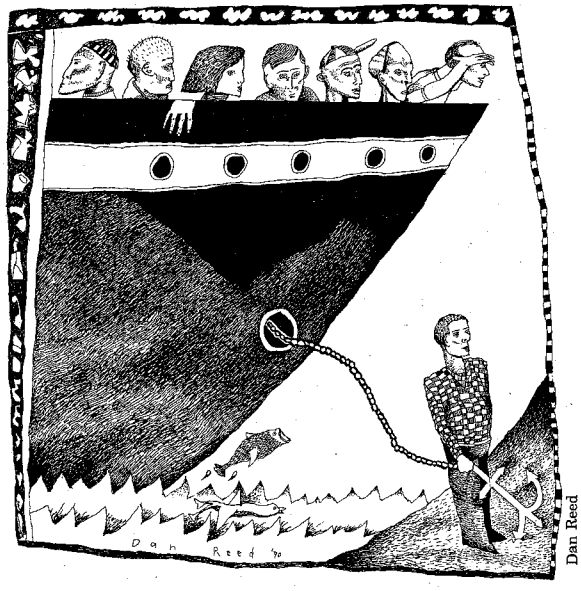
trayed by advocates of strict immigration policy. He makes his argument with a bewildering array of graphs, charts, formulae, and anecdotes—many of them impressive, others of questionable pertinence.

In Mr. Simon's view, among the favorable economic consequences of immigration are the rise in tax revenue owing to the additional income earned, and the contributions to Social Security made by younger immigrants to the benefit of an older native population. Moreover, he points out, immigrant income and tax contributions in the Seventies and Eighties would have been considerably higher had these new immigrants been as skilled as those who came earlier.


Dan Reed

Mr. Simon often refers to the Canadian and Australian experiences. In those countries visas are allocated through a point system that grades applicants by educational achievement, age, and occupational experience. Family preference is a factor too, but it is only one factor. As for education, Mr. Simon suggests the U.S. give special preference to foreign students who have already completed their studies here, or are willing to come and pay their own way. And he believes we ought to give "weight to the amount of formal education"—subject to something he vaguely calls "an ethical veto." Most strikingly, Mr. Simon advances the admittedly beguiling idea of selling admission at auction, perhaps taking a cue from Canada's efforts to lure fleeing Hong Kong businessmen willing to bring in $250,000. He makes further suggestions concerning "guest workers," illegal aliens (whose ranks he estimates at between 1.5 and 3.5 million), refugees, access to welfare, specificity of skills, and financial assets.

Among the faults to be found in *Economic Consequences*, Mr. Simon claims that immigration in the Eighties was substantially lower than in the first decade of the century. In fact, when we add in those granted amnesty under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, and the illegals who remained so, we find that more people came to stay in America during the Eighties than in any other decade in American history. Mr. Simon treats immigrants as one homogeneous mass, largely young entrepreneurs who will be the salvation of an aging America. But in fact only 4 per cent of immigrants in 1987 were admitted on the basis of useful skills. We no longer get immigrant workers from the more advanced, industrialized nations; and, despite Immigration and Naturalization Service efforts to prevent the unskilled workers we do get from becoming a welfare burden, our newer immigrants are falling below the poverty line in ever greater numbers. Mr. Simon wants procedures to prevent immigrants from taking illegal advantage of welfare to be "tightened up," but he offers no specifics.

What will society look like if these immigration patterns persist? In 1988, according to Mr. Simon, fully 43 per cent of legal immigrants came from Latin America, 41 per cent from Asia, and only 10 per cent from Europe—and 70 per cent of the intended residences of these immigrants were in just six states. Since 1980 America's Hispanic community has grown five times as fast as the rest of the population, and now numbers above 20.1 million (compared to more than 30.1 million blacks, and a rapidly growing 6.5 million Asians).

Mr. Simon appears to take comfort from the fact that just 6.2 per cent of America's population is foreign born, but he ignores immigration's regional impact. In 1985 it was estimated that 38 per cent of all Asian-Americans were living in California. As Peter Brimelow pointed out in the London *Times*, it may be possible to be sanguine about projections that whites may soon be a minority in California, "but it is not possible to believe that it will make no difference." The rise in ethnic heterogeneity has often been to the detriment of the melting pot.

It is worrisome that this book may fuel politically expedient policy revision. A compromise-minded Congress might, citing Mr. Simon, prefer quantity over quality—if only to avoid accusations of discrimination. But as Professor George J. Borjas of the University of California, Santa Barbara, has observed: "Immigration policy is inherently discriminatory. It selectively picks and chooses from many applicants. Because there are only a limited number of visas, the policy has to restrict or prohibit the entry of many classes of persons. Inevitably, difficult choices must be made." □

Who Killed Communism?

RUSS BRALEY

LAST YEAR Andrei Sakharov—this "mildest and most good-natured man"—who had helped develop Soviet thermonuclear weapons, died of a heart attack at home in Moscow. That day he had issued a call at the People's Congress of Deputies "to create a formal opposition to the Soviet Communist Party."

Tens of thousands attended his funeral, where Mikhail Gorbachev consoled his widow and praised the 1975 Nobel Peace laureate. Some of those present had shortened Sakharov's life,

Galileo's Children: Science, Sakharov, and the Power of the State, by George Bailey (Little, Brown, 458 pp., $24.95)

Mr. Braley was a foreign correspondent for the New York Daily News *from 1955 to 1975. He is the author of* Bad News: The Foreign Policy of the New York Times *(Regnery Gateway, 1984).*

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exiling him for seven years, goading him into hunger strikes by denying exit visas to his relatives, and then force-feeding him.

Sakharov, like Galileo, was a member of what author George Bailey calls the virtuosi, those so gifted that they are highly rewarded, so long as they conform. Sakharov accepted Marxism–Leninism, even Stalinism, as he worked with Igor Tamm using prisoner labor to build thermonuclear weapons to rival U.S. nuclear power.

The Manhattan Project built the first atomic bombs in July 1945. By August 1949 the Soviets had the fission bomb, thanks to two spy networks working separately in the United States. In 1950, Tamm and Sakharov momentarily achieved controlled fission. Only a few months after the U.S. tested an unwieldy fusion device in November 1952, the Soviets tested the Tamm–Sakharov H-bomb, putting them ahead.

As Mr. Bailey recounts it, Sakharov underwent his metamorphosis in stages. He defended the hydrogen bomb as necessary to stabilize the balance of power, although he warned of

Jon Weiman

the effects of the H-bomb test. But in 1958, as the Americans, Soviets, and British approached negotiations for a treaty banning nuclear testing, Sakharov protested a spurt of nuclear tests aimed at establishing a Soviet advantage before talks could pre-empt further development. In 1961, as the Berlin Wall went up, he again protested to Khrushchev the Soviet resumption of testing, which violated a gentlemen's agreement not to test while negotiating.

Sakharov abandoned the establishment in 1968 when Warsaw Pact troops crushed the Prague Spring. He defended dissidents who were sent to the Gulag for protesting the invasion of Czechoslovakia, a breach that cost him most of his privileges. In 1970, a year after his first wife's death from cancer, he married Yelena Bonner, whose family included Jews and had recorded generations of persecution under czars and commissars.

During Sakharov's earlier life of privilege, his antipode, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, had fought in World War II, nearly died as a *zek* in the Gulag, miraculously recovered from untreated cancer, survived harsh conditions of exile, and by the mid Seventies had been thrown out of the Soviet Union, eventually to become a near hermit in Vermont while continuing to write prodigiously. Mr. Bailey is exceptionally well positioned to understand the Solzhenitsyn–Sakharov relationship. Sakharov's autobiography and the memoirs of Yelena Bonner are likely to be the cornerstones for understanding Sakharov's life. But Mr. Bailey has been up to his ears in Russians for 45 years, since he interro-

RIGHT BOOKS

■ With his *Voodoo Deficits* (Dow Jones/Irwin, 184 pp., $22.95) Robert Ortner has added to the flurry of books surveying the economy during the Reagan Administration and hinting at a bright future.

Mr. Ortner, who served as chief economist and under secretary of commerce during the Reagan Administration, has warm feelings about the Reagan era; he knows the numbers and has reason to be pleased. But in dealing with the central question of his book—can America sustain such enormous deficits?—Mr. Ortner's cheerful outlook gets the better of him.

This is most apparent in his chapter "We Owe It to Ourselves," in which he reaffirms the old Keynesian saw. Even a deficit approaching $3 trillion is OK because, this familiar argument posits, most of it is owed by Americans *to* Americans; thus as a nation we're solvent.

To illustrate the point, Mr. Ortner adopts the analogy of a family in which the husband borrows from the wife. The problem is that in strict economic terms America is not one big happy family, nor a single economic unit. The whole idea of a free market is that there are millions of economic units, each accepting responsibility for itself. The debt of one of these, even the government itself, simply cannot be said to be the debt of all.

Mr. Ortner goes on to explain that the Federal Government owes "roughly $9,000 [to] every man, woman, and child." So don't worry: since the government owes us trillions of dollars, "we are all rich." Mr. Ortner denies the need to repay the debt, but it is worthwhile to point out that if the government were to try to do so, it would have to tax the lenders, its putative spouse, out of house and home. He also contends that "an active, purposeful rise in the budget deficit stimulates the economy. It does not depress it." To think of the pork-barrel politics that have caused the deficit as "purposeful" requires a bit of effort, although no one will deny that congressional spending has been "active."

But despite this flaw in reasoning, Mr. Ortner does have some useful ideas. He would rather see the Gramm–Rudman sequestrations go into effect than permit a tax increase. And he cogently dismisses the "myth" that the U.S. has fallen behind other nations. After all, America's per-capita gross domestic product is still the highest in the world.

Mr. Ortner is basically a Keynesian economist and is subject to all the illusions of that discipline. To his credit, he does reach sound conclusions most of the time, but how he does so is a mystery, because his rationale is usually hopeless.

Voodoo Deficits is a fitting accompaniment to Paul Samuelson's *Economics*. That book—often cited by Mr. Ortner—has none of the useful points of *Voodoo Deficits* but relies on the same Keynesian dogmas to justify socialism.

—Tucker Goodrich

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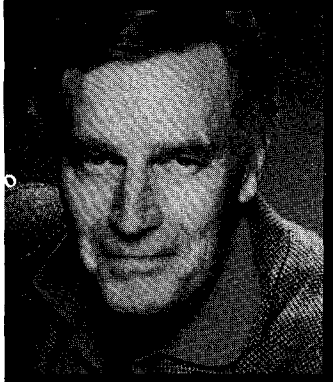

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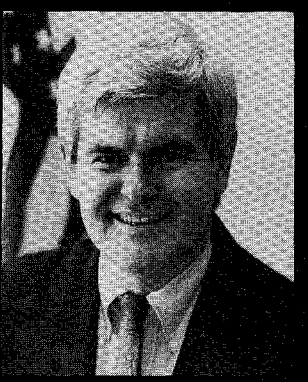

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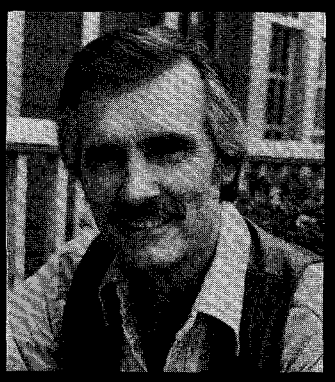

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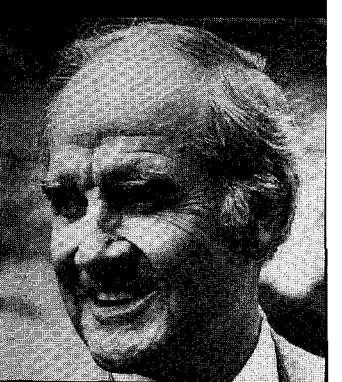

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gated Russian POWs freed from the Germans. They were sent home to death or imprisonment, a traumatic event for him. Fluent in Russian, he helped found *Kontinent*, the magazine for Eastern-bloc dissidents. He has lived with the nuances of the antagonisms—and mutual respect—between Solzhenitsyn, the fire-breathing anti-Communist for decades, and Sakharov, the late-bloomer who step by step discarded Stalinism, Marxism, Leninism, and finally socialism.

In 1968, when Moscow was threatening Czechoslovakia's Communist reformers, Sakharov wrote "Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom," a denunciation of Soviet Communist history and an exposition of his convergence theory: because of the common interests between the West and the Soviet Union, their political systems would gradually grow nearer to each other. The *New York Times* published the essay over three full pages on July 22. A month later Soviet airborne troops and tanks crushed Communist reformers in Czechoslovakia, and Sakharov renounced his own idea of convergence. Solzhenitsyn, of course, had never been disposed to accept convergence in the first place.

Sakharov's essay suggested to Mr. Bailey that its author was the standard-bearer of free thought in the Soviet Union, although the contradictions of "convergence" had leaped out at him. He remarks that the Russians, "for a long time nomadic on soil more fit for grazing than for planting, had a penchant for living by ideas alone that divorced them from reality. . . . As a result, the Russian was much given to social—or, rather, socialist—daydreaming. They had no Renaissance, no Reformation, no Age of Reason."

Yet, for the Russians, with their religious cast of mind, Western capitalism was not a shining goal either. "The boisterous frivolity of the American model," Mr. Bailey writes, "was enough to disconcert and disgust the Russians, whose seriousness in most matters has always bordered on manic-depressive."

In 1973 the KGB put Solzhenitsyn into a cheap suit and expelled him. Sakharov went to his defense, breaking with socialism altogether in a Swedish television interview. Sakharov, Mr. Bailey writes, was summoned by the deputy prosecutor general. He was subjected to a ninety-minute interrogation, which he transcribed from memory and distributed to Western correspondents, another act of defiance.

Sakharov and his family were now in jeopardy. Among those defending him was Solzhenitsyn, who at this time published his 75-page *Letter to the Leaders of the Soviet Union*. Sakharov disconcerted dissidents by responding with 12 pages of disagreement with Solzhenitsyn's politics. The Sakharov–Solzhenitsyn "gentlemanly exchange" became an exposition of options open to the Russian people. In 1980, Sakharov's protests against the invasion of Afghanistan got him exiled to Gorky.

Mr. Bailey, a former director of Radio Liberty, started this richly detailed book without expecting ever to meet Sakharov. But the meltdown of the reactor at Chernobyl freed Sakharov from internal exile in 1986. Gorbachev sent technicians to install a telephone in Sakharov's Gorky apartment, so that he could ask Sakharov to return to Moscow. Mr. Bailey received a visa in November 1987 to visit Moscow, and he was able to talk at length with Sakharov.

One surprise turned up in those interviews: Sakharov had remained an Orthodox Christian, although he told Mr. Bailey that a priest had asked him to stop attending church to avoid problems. □

MUSIC

Once a Philosopher . . .

HERB GREER

GLYNDEBOURNE Festival Opera is the only unsubsidized company of international stature in the United Kingdom. It was founded more than half a century ago by John Christie on a Sussex country estate to stage Mozart operas for a discerning audience. Since then the scope of repertory and style has broadened. Two years ago a production in expressionist style of Janacek's *Katya Kabanova*, starring the brilliant American soprano Nancy Gustafson, was a highlight of the season. It is repeated this year, along with the European premiere of Michael Tippett's *New Year*, and works by Britten, Richard Strauss, and Verdi.

Glyndebourne has a reputation for excellence, but it was probably inevitable that sooner or later someone would turn up there to produce a classic in the cheap Germanic Sixties style which is meant to *épater les bourgeois*. This summer American director Peter Sellars has done just that with *The Magic Flute*. For shallow, barbaric, and silly interpretation, and pathetic theatrical and musical incompetence, it would be hard to match. In a venue like Glyndebourne it can only be regarded as a grotesque aberration.

Sellars himself seems to have had doubts about the production—so much so that he inserted a Xeroxed apologia into the massive Glyndebourne program. This announces that he has cut all the dialogue, and dispensed with psychological motivation "because the characters have been ordained by God." The setting is described in the supplement as an "imaginary Los Angeles landscape . . . a Technicolor cliché promoted by every cop show on the box." (Possibly Mr. Sellars has never seen *Miami Vice*.) "Maybe," he admits, "this evening's production is a shallow travesty peopled by drug addicts, alcoholics and crazies. But maybe even they are people, and even they are searching for something in their lives."

The audience has been warned. It is supposed to greet Mozart's great work not with the eyes and ears of opera lovers, but with the prejudices and conscience of a social worker.

There are a number of things about the production that undermine the opera, even on Sellars's terms. In the program he quotes one of the mottoes on the American dollar bill, *Novus Ordo Seclorum*, and says that this is *The Magic Flute*'s "proclaimed" message. The production, we are told, portrays this new order by doing away with all the old fairy-tale images and costumes. Tamino appears as a T-shirted beach bum, the Queen of the

Mr. Greer writes from Britain as a contributing editor for The World & I.

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Night is an Oriental California suburbanite, Monostatos is an orange-faced greaseball with a handgun, and Sarastro is draped in quasi-Buddhist style; his followers mutate from punk drug addicts, alcoholics, and crazies into gowned acolytes inhabiting a subterranean vaulted ashram. And Papageno? Sellars has not been able to discover a suitably Sixties image for him, so the *Novus Ordo* is dropped. Papageno wears the same old ungroovy feathers, in black, with a bright yellow face to jazz it up a bit.

The set's aleatory collection of color-slide L.A. views—freeways, a swimming pool, palm trees, a hillside of flower gardens, a cityscape apparently on fire in the distance, etc., etc.—is supposed to create "a world of pure color, vibration, feeling, timelessness, and hope." Alas, every one of these slides, as Sellars's apology says, is a visual cliché, from a million advertisements, from article illustrations, magazine covers, and films as well as television. The colors are not pure, but garish. The effect is not vibrant; it has the impact of someone bawling nonsense in the background, making time hang heavy, draining away all hope of a decent show, let alone any other sort of hope. It is the characteristic of a cliché that too much familiarity has leached out whatever emotional content it might have had. So—no feeling, either.

Sellars's treatment of the music and words accords perfectly with his own "travesty" label: *The Magic Flute* is a crowning achievement of the eighteenth-century Viennese *Singspiel* tradition. This blended a number of influences and traditions (fairy-tale spectacle, magic, harlequinade comedy) into what was intended as a popular entertainment. With emetic pretension, Sellars puffs up *The Magic Flute*'s metaphysical ingredients—the moral purification of Tamino and Pamina, the conflict between the powers of darkness and light—into a veritable raison d'être for the show. He vaunts them as "the piece's larger discussion of the struggle in each character between the flesh and the spirit, and the tug of the visible and the invisible worlds." Of course this species of contrast was standard, almost incidental, in Viennese popular theater, subordinate to the visual theatrical effects and the pleasing music. In any event the Manichaean aspects of the opera cannot be grasped or understood without the dialogue, which Sellars has discarded. Lacking such an integral part of *The Magic Flute*'s very structure, the production becomes an unexplained pattern of bizarre behavior punctuated by songs.

In the place of spoken words Sellars proposes to "let the music tell its own subtler story," whatever that may mean. In fact Mozart's librettist, Emanuel Schikaneder, prevailed upon the composer to keep his music simple and lowbrow to please the audience. Some of the tunes in the opera were composed by Schikaneder himself—in particular those for the part of Papageno, which he created. The musical "stuttering" of Papageno is also supposed to have been Schikaneder's idea,

Richard Ware

shouted at Mozart during a rehearsal. Certainly the aim of librettist and composer, consistently followed in the creation of *The Magic Flute*, and very well documented, was to create an amusing and entertaining spectacle which the popular Viennese audience would pay to see. This is the common sense of the music *and* the words. Sellars—his pretensions fixed on higher things—has chosen to ignore it.

A great deal of the director's pseudo-serious rhetoric, the appalling visual effect of the flashy backdrops, and even the excising of the dialogue, might have been partly tolerable if the music had been well played and sung. Here too Sellars's hand weighed heavily, for he had a strong influence on the casting. Among the lead parts only Kurt Streit as Tamino and James Maddalena as Papageno belonged on the Glyndebourne stage, giving well-sung but emotionally crippled performances. The Korean coloratura Hellen Kwon, carrying a handbag and wearing a very ordinary dress as the Queen of the Night, had serious problems with pitch. As Pamina, the Chinese soprano Ai-Lan Zhu gave the part a certain bravery, but little feeling. If Howard Haskin as Monostatos or Mark Doss as Sarastro had been able to sing or act, the material given them by Mozart might have defeated their egregious director. Unfortunately Haskin, prancing about with his handgun, was poor in pitch and coarse in his acting, while Doss, despite the hushing of the orchestra to help him, was simply inaudible about 30 per cent of the time. The other parts—the three Genii and the three ladies who save Tamino from the serpent (which, by the way, never appeared)—managed to sing in tune, but performed with a curious lack of conviction and energy. This malaise spread over the rest of the cast, and in the second act became so bad that at one point the singers parted company with the orchestra for what seemed almost a minute.

Sellars has been at Glyndebourne before. In 1988 he directed a successful production of a contemporary opera, *The Electrification of the Soviet Union*. It may be that his talent, such as it is, suits new work. Though any good venue will give scope for creative experiment with the classics, Sellars's destructive, self-indulgent games with Mozart are something else again. The well-bred Glyndebourne audience actually booed *The Magic Flute* on the first night, and when I saw it the comments in the foyer were trenchant. "The *arrogance* of it," said one woman. "I wanted to boo, but I didn't think I'd be very good at that."

Even a company as fine as Glyndebourne is entitled to the occasional ghastly mistake. But if Sellars has treated it and its audience as the Prussian Emperor Frederick II treated Voltaire, then Sellars deserves the same reply that Voltaire gave his imperial host. The story is that Frederick commanded Voltaire to take part in a perverted orgy on a Thursday night. Voltaire did, and acquitted himself so well that Frederick invited him to a more exclusive perverted orgy on Saturday night. Voltaire said, "Sire—once, a philosopher. Twice, a degenerate." □

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FILM

All That Bebop

JOHN SIMON

SPIKE LEE's intention with his new film, ***Mo' Better Blues***, was to tell the life of a jazz musician accurately, not as seen in movies by white filmmakers. The sales pitch for the movie is that Bertrand Tavernier's *Round Midnight* and Clint Eastwood's *Bird* got it all wrong—too dark, too gloomy, too humorless, too patronizing. Now a black artist will tell it as—sorry, *like* it really was or, rather, is, since the time is a vague present. Unfortunately, what we get is mo' worse.

There was indeed much to criticize about those two movies. But are we to believe that it is the "white sensibility" that undercut them? However that may be, the corrective is not *Mo' Better Blues*, which has no more character development, no more originality of plot, and rather less, or less good, music than the two films Lee keeps badmouthing. It also has prettification of the jazz-club surroundings, ugly whiffs of anti-Semitism, and horribly formulaic story-telling to contend with. But yes, it does have more jazz-musicianly humor—such as it is.

Let me confess that I know little about jazz, and that most of my information here comes from Lee's companion volume to the film, and from the review by Gary Giddins, *The Village Voice*'s jazz and, more recently, movie critic. That Giddins's review, after listing numerous faults, is nevertheless a rave, strikes me as odd. For example, if Jewish club owners such as Max Gordon, Art D'Lugoff, and Barry Josephson were notably fair to black musicians, why should their film alter egos—ineptly called Moe and Josh Flatbush—be presented as bloodsuckers? And if a good many club owners were Italian (as the actors portraying the Flatbushes, John and Nicholas Turturro, are), why does Lee, in an interview with the *New York Post*, say that the majority were Jewish? Giddins notes such things, disapproves, and promptly forgets.

Conversely, no one in *Mo' Better Blues* does drugs. That's like making a movie about Scotland without a kilt in it; or, more precisely, about a string quartet without showing a viola. The two jazz clubs depicted are speciously spacious and attractive; one of them is Art Deco and called Beneath the Underdog; that is the title of Charlie Mingus's autobiography, but hardly an alluring name for a club. Although the film's protagonist, Bleek Gilliam, trumpeter and leader of a quintet, complains, "I'm sick and tired of playing before everybody but my own people," the film keeps showing largely black audiences at both the "Dog" and, later, the Dizzy Club. "Why did Lee write a movie about a trumpet player," Giddins asks, "when he obviously idolizes Coltrane, and allows saxophones to dominate the soundtrack?" He goes on to decry the inappropriateness of an opening theme for strings, a sequence of church chords, a parody of radio-play music, but quickly forgives all.

Most of the music is by Bill Lee, Spike's father, in a case of inverse nepotism, for most of it is lackluster. The big number, performed at the Dizzy, "Harlem Blues," has good words by W. C. Handy, and pallid music by Raymond Jones. The montage near the end, showing Bleek's marriage, fatherhood, and redemption, and lasting, as Spike tells us, seven minutes and 46 seconds "because that's the length of 'Love Supreme,' the monumental jazz recording of John Coltrane," which plays "over, underneath, and with" it, covers eight years. The music is bebop all right, but to my ears no more impressive than the montage itself, which is reminiscent in style of the commercials Lee has been making for TV.

But what is truly awful about the movie is its maniacal parallelism and circularity, arbitrary bits of heavy-handed symmetry Spike keeps imposing over and over again, more like elementary geometry than enlightened filmmaking.

Mo' Better Blues ("mo' better," like "the nasty" or "boning," is a jive synonym for the sex act) is the story of Bleek Gilliam, a brilliant trumpeter whose motto is "My music! Everything else is secondary." He rules his band with a fist of iron, although Shadow, his gifted sax player, is becoming more and more rebellious, and Left Hand Lacey, his pianist, is a dandy who carries on with white women and is (because of that?) always late for rehearsal. Bleek conducts simultaneous affairs with Clarke Bentancourt, a record-store cashier with aspirations to be a singer, and Indigo (no last name given), a grade-school teacher. His loyalty is greater to the band's runty manager, the self-styled Giant (Spike himself), who is both incompetent at getting good contracts from the club owners and a compulsive gambler, always in debt, with the musicians having to bail him out. But having been friends with him since third grade, Bleek won't fire him.

There is also Big Stop, Bleek's worldly-wise father, full of good advice; Butterbean, the comic at the

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Gremlins 2: The New Batch is undeniably fun—a lot of harmless, and not a few harmful, things are amiably spoofed—but the film is too timid to be significant satire.

Last Exit to Brooklyn is extremely unprepossessing. True, so is *The Lower Depths*, but Gorky's play has worked well on both stage and screen. The problem with this film is the lack of any real relief. Everything is sordid and sinister.

Pretty Woman is a double Pygmalion story that has to be seen to be disbelieved. Two golden-hearted whores find each other, fall in love, and make honest, married lovers of each other. A first, I am sorry to say.

Tie Me Up! Tie Me Down! is an old, established *topos*: Beauty and the Beast, or how the evil ravisher's genuine passion wins over his pure victim. Most reviewers have been hard on the movie. Yet filmmaker Pedro Almodovar was trying, in his way, to be more wholesomely affirmative than usual, and was punished for it. —JOHN SIMON

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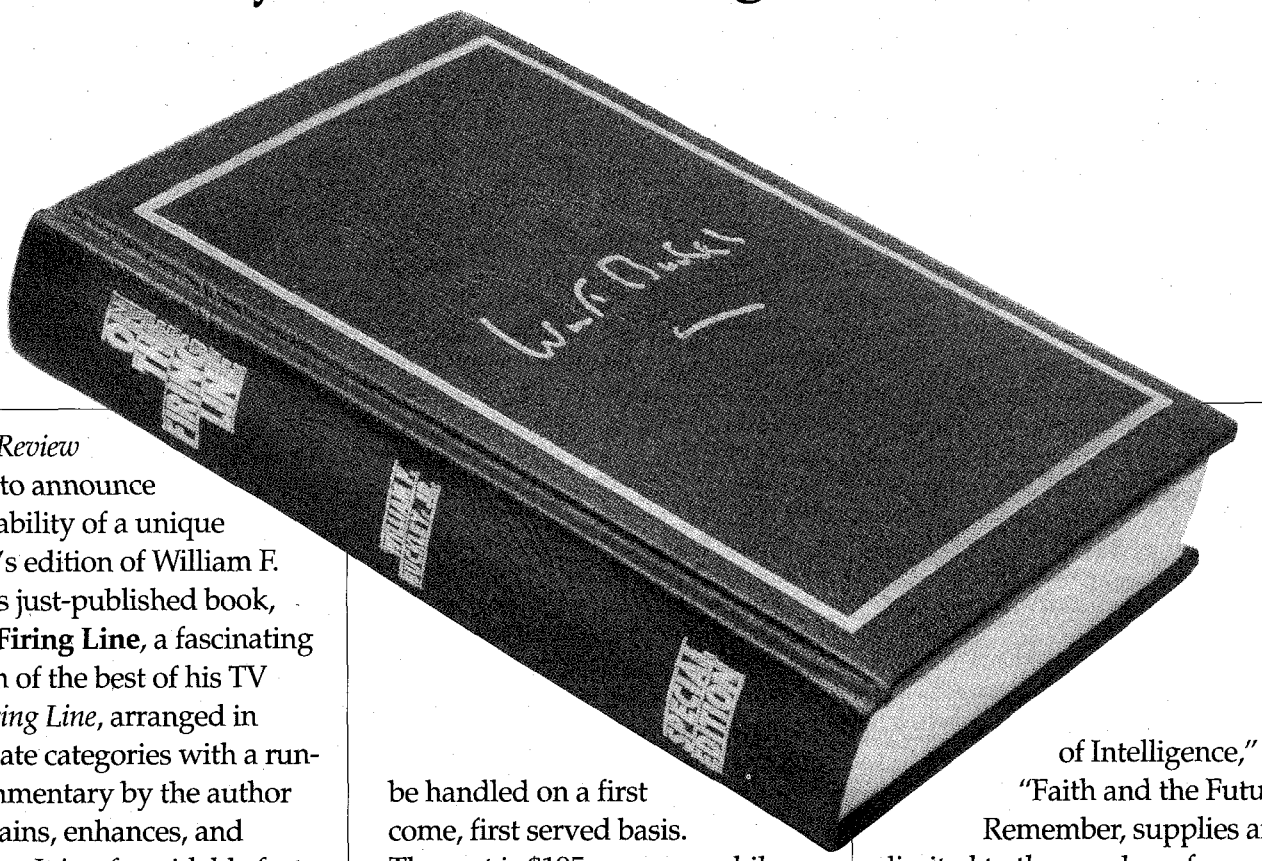

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club, who may be funny, but, as the late Robin Harris plays him, would require subtitles to prove it; and Petey, the Hispanic bookie to whom Giant keeps losing and whose black goons, assuring Giant that they would not kill a black brother, merely keep breaking his various bones (a less fun type of boning) and thoughtfully dropping him off at the hospital.

Meanwhile Shadow is preparing to leave Bleek and start his own group; knowing that Gilliam is two-timing Clarke and refusing to let her sing, he tries to muscle in, with promises to make her his vocalist and his lover. With flatfooted symmetry, Bleek is shown in successive bedroom scenes, first calling Clarke Indigo, then Indigo, Clarke. Next, the women show up at Beneath the Underdog wearing the same red dress that Bleek, symmetrically, bought them. Then, symmetrically, both women leave him, and soon Shadow is boning Clarke. In further symmetrical scenes, Bleek's phone calls and pleas on the tape remain unanswered. The sex scenes, by the way, are neither artistic nor erotic.

Finally, Giant is beaten to a pulp in the back alley behind the club by the aforementioned couple of thugs; Bleek comes, somewhat belatedly, to his defense, and is repeatedly punched in his vulnerable and invaluable lips as teeth fly from his mouth. Then he is clobbered with his own horn. He is comforted at the hospital by his philosophical ex-baseball-player father, but both of them know he'll never play again. (Big Stop, incidentally, says he is 75, whereas Bleek is still in his twenties, which doesn't make sense.)

One year and much agonizing later, Bleek, his lips partly restored, seeks out the Dizzy Club, where the Shadow Henderson Quartet—all of Bleek's former band, plus Clarke as vocalist—now plays. It is a night of dismal, clichéd rain, but he is warmly received by the doorman: Giant, now with a gimpy leg, but without the gambling habit. Shadow asks Bleek to play, Clarke even kisses him, but he only makes a fool of himself and rushes out amid a burst of silent consternation and commiseration.

He seeks out Indigo, who tries to fend him off, but ends up marrying him, with Shadow, Clarke, and the band at the wedding. The Gilliams have a son, Miles, who turns eight and is being taught the trumpet by his father, now a music teacher. And here the parallel structure becomes atrocious. The film began with Bleek, age eight, practicing his trumpet as his little friends call to him from below his window to come out and frolic. His mother, overruling his father, forbids it until he finishes practicing. Now the exact same scene, with the exact same dialogue, recurs, except that Bleek prevails over Indigo, and the proud parents watch from the window as an elated Miles dashes off to play baseball. We even get the same crane shot of Brooklyn treetops and brownstones at start and finish: Lee is very proud of his Louma crane, which he keeps using as well as extolling in the book of the film.

Janet Hamlin

The dialogue creaks along most of the time. Who, for instance, would say, as Clarke does, "If your music is the be all to end all as you state, to ensure that [increased earnings], you better get rid of Giant as your manager"? To which Bleek responds, "Why are you bringing all this confusion into my home?" Or take this, from Giant to Left Hand arriving late: "If your late ass woulda been here you woulda missed nada." And, by way of wit, "Your mom's so old she has powdered milk coming out of her titties," which cracks up the band. This is evidently that easy banter that Lee so sorely misses in *Bird* and *Round Midnight*.

But, to do Spike Lee justice, there are a few—a very few—good scenes in the film, although they concern neither jazz nor the band spirit. They are bits of conversation Bleek and Big Stop (played by Dick Anthony Williams) share while playing catch, and one rather irrelevant scene in which Shadow asks Giant to help him determine whether his girlfriend will be able to smell another woman's perfume on his sheets. Here, as the two men sniff away and Shadow tells anecdotes about his woman's jealousy, there is some wild, quirky fun. But about a jazz player's love for his trumpet you can find out much more from a Forties novel, Dorothy Baker's *Young Man with a Horn* (but not from its 1951 movie adaptation). True, Miss Baker was white, and so was Bix Beiderbecke, on whom her hero was modeled.

Ernest Dickerson's cinematography is up to snuff, but by no means outstanding. Denzel Washington, an excellent actor, doesn't find his bearings as Bleek, and mostly looks—you guessed it—bleak. But all the other men are fine, especially Wesley Snipes, as Shadow, and Giancarlo Esposito, as Left Hand. The women, however, can't act. Joie Lee, as Indigo, whom her brother's screenplay describes as "a very beautiful sister," can act a bit. But sister sister comes across as preposterous with her long, thin face topped by a hairdo that looks like an upside-down broom cast in bronze. The main problem, though, is that Lee needs controversy to score. *She's Gotta Have It* and, especially, *Do the Right Thing* had it; in *Mo' Better Blues*, there's nothing for him to be controversial, or blow his horn, about. □

DELECTATIONS

Breaking the Ice

NIKA HAZELTON

THE 1990 Delectations contest asked participants to submit three non-serious conversation starters. Entries poured in, and your Incorruptible Judges pored over them, pausing occasionally to wipe a brow or send out for fresh eyeglasses. Alas, no entrant produced three clearly superi-

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(Continues on page 52)

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or entries, but there were a number of excellent individual responses.

I was touched by the number of people who sent letters along with their entries saying how much this column and NATIONAL REVIEW meant to them. And I was delighted by the people who thanked me for giving them the fun of composing their responses.

I would also like to commend most entrants for the neatness of their submissions, whether typed or handwritten; however, there was one lady whose handwriting, although very attractive, was illegible on two crucial words. We will never know whether she would have been a winner.

Two more general notes before we get to the winners and the honorable mentions: First, several people offered conversation starters that they had actually used to good effect at dinner parties. Unfortunately, while practical, these were mostly more serious than we had in mind. Second, we decided to forgo the booby prize this year. There were plenty of entries that were both funny enough and in poor enough taste to qualify, but we did not think them suitable to publish in these chaste pages.

And now for the winners, each of whom will receive the new blue and white *NR* mug, suitable for coffee, tea, or pencils, as its recipient prefers.

Ian Malcolm of Montreal, Quebec, suggests: "You know, I voted for Dukakis." (He adds as a footnote, "Oh, I know, someone is going to say that the conversation starters are supposed to be 'non-serious,' but who would regard the above as a serious statement?")

Jay Stockstill of Keller, Texas, asks: "How did the guy who invented cottage cheese know when he was finished?"

And Lee E. Wilson of Jacksonville, Florida, wonders: "If California separated from the United States, whose fault would it be?"

Congratulations, gentlemen, and enjoy your mugs.

Next, the honorable mentions: from Kevin MacDonald of San Francisco, California: "I'm a Marxist macrobiotic. What are you?" From Andrew Sicree of Boalsburg, Pennsylvania: "What is your position on continental drift?" From James B. Romnes of Renton, Washington: "What historical figure would you least care to sound like?" From John H. LaRochelle of Baton Rouge, Louisiana: "My weight keeps changing. Is there something wrong with gravity?" From Father John J. Zoppi of Archbald, Pennsylvania: "Has 'clockwise' become a meaningless direction?"

From Nancy A. Miller of Greeley Hill, California: "Would 'blue Monday' disappear if the week started on Tuesday?" From Edwin Spangler of Frederick, Maryland: "If feminism requires that misdemeanors become mandemeanors, should felonies become galonies?" From David Downing of Santa Barbara, California: "So tell me, what is your least favorite planet?"

Finally, Charles E. Rehmer of Enfield, Connecticut, passes along a classic: "If God gave Moses the laws, who gave us the lawyers?"

Thanks once again to one and all for entering, and I look forward to the next Delectations contest. □

Mrs. Hazelton, an NR *contributing editor, is author of* Ups and Downs: Memoirs of Another Time *(Harper & Row).*

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ATKINSON

(Continued from page 38)

wife and a mother, run a house, and do it all well. The frustration is expressed in hostility toward men."

Another theory is that we have simply entered an era where bashing in general has become a principal mode of cultural communication. Comedians such as Sam Kinison are no slouches at woman-bashing, and cable television is filled with what I have come to call samurai public-affairs programs, wherein various pundits hurl opinions and insults at one another in the name of public edification.

Still, it's ironic that man-bashing should have taken such a virulent form at this time, when studies have shown that 30 per cent of men now do housework and 18 per cent are the primary child-care provider. I am myself somewhat skeptical of these "studies." How do the sociologists know how many hours each spouse spends washing dishes? Do they hide in the pantry, stopwatches at the ready? Still, studies for the goose are studies for the gander. And that 30 per cent figure above represents a 50 per cent increase in the last twenty years. One study shows that even in the household, men spend an average of seven minutes more per day on work than women. So why are we getting kicked around as never before?

Miss Barr signed off on *Donahue* with the observation that "Men do one-third of the world's work." Cute—but dumb. Men never carped as much about mowing the lawn as women do about mopping the floor. Now that we're doing more of both, and without complaining, women naturally exploit the weakness they sense. It's called feminine psychology. □

CLASSIFIEDS

Personal

(Continued from page 51)

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PRE-READ *NATIONAL REVIEW*s wanted: Send your old *NR*s to a DOD overseas location for distribution to the intellectually needy. Suggest 4th class, 10 or more at a time. Send or write to Mary Muri, PSC Box 2711, APO New York 09289.

EIGHT RECIPES for sauces and flavoring for salads, soups, and meats. Recipes are from about 1900–1910. Old fashioned, homemade, and good. $5 to Fleethart Co., P. O. Box 38417, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80937.

LIFE'S A PAIN? The self-wounding part is optional. Phone-confer: clinical philosopher (M.D./Ph.D./author). 503-981-0406.

LEFTISM OR FREEDOM? Historian and *NR* contributor Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn speaks on "Crisis in Europe's East." Reading, Pa., Oct. 16. Dinner reservations $20; 215-385-3486.

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 D	2 F	3 I	4 O	5 E	6 Q	7 A	8 J		9 M	10 R	11 T		12 G	13 N	14 H	15 L	16 Q		17 D	18 A	19 F
20 M	21 K	22 I	23 N	24 E		25 C	26 S	27 O	28 B		29 F	30 H		31 K	32 T	33 D	34 J	35 R	36 N		37 Q
38 A	39 E		40 K	41 O	42 I	43 C	44 E	45 J		46 A	47 R	48 L	49 G	50 K		51 N	52 F	53 Q		54 L	55 D
56 E	57 I	58 C	59 M	60 O	61 F		62 K	63 Q	64 E	65 M		66 N	67 G		68 P	69 R	70 O	71 A		72 L	73 I
74 Q	75 A	76 E		77 M	78 T	79 H		80 D	81 L	82 S	83 B	84 R	85 I		86 M	87 Q		88 O	89 G	90 E	
91 L	92 T		93 S	94 N	95 D	96 H	97 M	98 C	99 Q	100L		101H	102F		103T	104G	105E		106N	107D	108Q
109M	110L	111R	112H		113M	114G		115F	116N	117O	118K	119E		120G	121S		122I	123O	124B	125E	126J
	127J	128L	129C		130R	131L	132J	133D	134B	135H	136P		137S	138L	139I	140Q	141J		142A	143S	144E
145H	146F	147C	148T	149L	150G	151N	152Q		153T	154K		155K	156S	157F	158M		159E	160F	161B	162R	
163F	164N		165I	166P		167D	168J	169I	170F	171F		172A	173G	174I	175K	176F	177R				

DEFINITIONS

A. Quasimodo's favorite type of whale — 38 75 18 142 46 172 7 71

B. Egg-shaped — 134 161 124 83 28

C. When it's down, everything is confused, except in a cake — 58 43 25 147 129 98

D. A source for news — 167 133 80 1 107 33 55 95 17

E. Book dealing with Charles Manson — 159 105 44 5 90 119 24 125 64 144 / 76 39 56

F. Elizabeth Dole's former domain — 163 176 170 102 61 19 157 115 146 160 / 171 29 2 52

G. Malady of the lovelorn — 104 114 150 12 120 49 173 89 67

H. Disease caused by rotted rye — 79 135 96 101 112 145 30 14

I. Paving material preferred by shoemakers — 57 42 73 165 3 139 122 174 22 85 / 169

J. Major streets — 127 132 141 126 168 34 45 8

K. Part of an old arsenal (2 words) — 40 175 62 50 154 21 155 118 31

L. Mistakes — 131 128 15 81 54 91 138 72 110 149 / 48 100

M. World Trade Center, for one (2 words) — 77 113 109 65 9 86 158 20 97 59

N. "Fruity" lumber used in inlay work — 164 23 51 151 36 116 66 94 13 106

O. Our period on earth — 70 27 117 60 88 4 123 41

P. Part of a match — 136 166 68

Q. Aloof — 99 37 140 16 53 74 87 108 6 152 / 63

R. Barber-shop quartet's efforts — 10 69 47 130 84 35 111 162 177

S. Stop sign, e.g. — 143 93 82 26 137 121 156

T. Besom riders — 153 32 103 148 78 11 92

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 51 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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Coming Up: The Saudi–U.S. Friendship Treaty

NEW YORK, AUGUST 8

Saudi Arabia's decision to swing with U.S. policy is absolutely crucial, and the reverberations of this fissure in the all-Arab family could affect Mideast politics for the next generation. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is pretty solidly aligned with the Saudi–Kuwaiti axis, and before these lines are published it is possible that Syria will be on board. The emirates are of course there, and who knows, maybe Yemen will come in. It is so accustomed to taking orders from the Soviet Union, it might just move in the anti-Iraq direction because Moscow has done so.

It is important not to humiliate King Fahd and his court. But the landing of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia ought to have a significance that outlives what one hopes will be the fading career of Saddam Hussein. Before our troops leave Saudi Arabia, we should reach a strategic understanding about OPEC.

Mr. Bush has spoken about the economic leverage the Persian Gulf has on the United States. He relied on this argument as justifying our landing troops in Saudi Arabia—that, and our insistence on doing the "right" thing and contending against the "wrong" thing. Concerning these points, a few observations:

1. Already, the threat of an 8 per cent diminution in the supply of oil has caused the price of gasoline for U.S. motorists to rise by an average of 10 per cent. On the matter of this rise, by the way, there has been much demagogy, with senators and congressmen pounding their desks and keening against profiteering. Even Mr. Bush publicly implored the oil companies to do everything possible to prevent prices from rising. Well, the price at the gas pump is going to represent not the price paid for the gasoline, but the price paid to replace the gasoline. This is axiomatic in economic law: The merchandiser charges for the gallon of gas—or the ounce of gold or the loaf of bread—not 110 per cent of what he paid for it, if his profit margin is 10 per cent, but 110 per cent of what it will cost him to replace that gallon of gasoline. There is no other way for the merchandiser to capitalize an ongoing business. In any event, the whole experience demonstrates yet again the extent to which we are at the mercy of the wild fluctuations of oil prices in the Persian Gulf.

2. This last fluctuation was caused by military action taken by one OPEC member against a second. The havoc that Iraq–Kuwait have caused in world oil prices is less by far than what might be caused if the Saudis had a similar crisis. Or if the Saudis pursued, along with other OPEC countries, the economic warfare in which they exultantly engaged in 1973 and in 1979.

OPEC tends to work or not to work according as Saudi Arabia cooperates or does not cooperate. Other OPEC powers, for instance Nigeria and Venezuela, have broken the OPEC price, sometimes covertly, sometimes openly. But although they produce a great deal of oil, Saudi Arabia uniquely has the capacity to affect the world price.

3. When the appropriate moment comes, say when Saddam Hussein is hanging by his heels like Mussolini, our diplomats should be prepared to say something on the order of: Now look, Your Majesty, we bailed you out of a no-win situation. But for the United States, you and your court might be sitting in Monaco today. Now we don't want to take over your country, but we don't want, either, to become your subjects. And that means that we have to look upon your oil as the whole world is slowly coming to look upon pollution. That the source of it is in Detroit or in Chernobyl isn't the point. What happens in Detroit or in Chernobyl can affect Manitoba and Norway.

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So: As a sign of the permanent solidarity between the great people of Saudi Arabia and the great people of the United States of America, we will now execute this agreement binding the price of Saudi Arabian oil to the price of oil at Galveston, Texas.

At which point Secretary Baker and Prince Saud Al-Faisal should exchange a great big smooch. □

Who Is Responsible?

NEW YORK, JULY 30

A NATIONAL REVIEW editorial two issues ago reported that three Democrats plus Senator Jake Garn of Utah, who is a Republican, met informally in a "back room" during a 1980 House–Senate conference on banking legislation and decided to raise deposit insurance from $40,000 to $100,000. We got this datum from the *Washington Post*, but now receive a letter from Senator Garn vigorously denying that it happened in that way. "Let me state clearly and for the record: No such meeting took place. The increase in deposit insurance was suggested and debated during a public session of the House–Senate conference committee in 1980. The views of the then FDIC Chairman Irvine Sprague were solicited through his representative at this public meeting, and his official response was that he did not object to the increase to $100,000. Based on this information, the conference committee members voted to accept the proposal."

Now using only very round figures, the difference between a guarantee of $40,000 and of $100,000 may mean something like, oh, $200 billion. When Senator Garn reports that the chairman of the FDIC "did not object" to the increase of the guarantee by 150 per cent, one catches one's breath. At least, I do. Moreover, when Senator Garn says that the subject was "debated," are you not curious to know what were the objections listed by the dissenters?

While, then, it is true that Senator Garn didn't participate in a back-room deal with three Democrats to increase the guarantee, the public is left mystified as to what kind of deliberations were taken before the conference com-

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mittee of the House and Senate agreed to commit what turned out to be several hundred billion of the diminishing supply of post-tax American dollars. The whole question of the responsibility for the S&L mess is a mess. We have pieced together parts of the story, and spin-controllers are out there actively attempting to crank up tendentious versions. The Democrats would like everybody to blame Neil Bush, and then sit back, rising from one's bed of fury just long enough to vote for Democrats in November. The Republicans would like the voters to bear in mind that during the period when the S&L scandal flowered, Democrats controlled the House and the Senate. And when Charles Keating got around to trying to influence five critically situated senators, only one of these was a Republican, and he received a relatively trivial amount of money.

And then the Democrats counterattack by reminding us that during the Eighties, the President of the United States was a Republican, and since the FSLIC is a federal agency, and since the President is responsible for overseeing the executive, ought not Ronald Reagan to be held responsible for the negligence of the FSLIC?

To which (of course) the Republicans have a reply. It is that the oversight committees on which the public depends are a part of the legislature. The very idea of the separation of powers calls for the legislature to oversee the executive, the judiciary to oversee the legislature, the executive to curb the legislature (via the veto). And, of course, the President uniquely can address the entire nation. Had he known what was going on, Mr. Reagan might have said something like, "You will not believe this, but a great big grown-up committee of senators and congressmen voted to increase the exposure of the United States Government by 150 per cent at a time when the thrifts have been deteriorating. It's too late to reverse that protection for depositors already sheltered, but not too late to legislate a reversal of the guarantee."

The public ought to know what happened. In part, perhaps, to prosecute the tortfeasors and take the negligent to the woodshed. In part to study what are the defects in our current system.

But who will do the investigation? A congressional committee would need to investigate, among other things, itself. A Justice Department attorney would be . . . easygoing on a Republican Administration?

The Brits have something on us, with their Royal Commissions. We could use one on the S&L business, which makes Teapot Dome look like a game of Parcheesi. □

The Neglected Right

NEW YORK, AUGUST 1

The talk in Congress continues on how to do something about political spending. As ever, much of the focus is necessarily on the right of individual political enthusiasts to spend what they want to spend to advance their causes. There is, after all, no point in writing a new law and running into *Buckley* v. *Valeo*, which (in 1976) said in effect that the right to speak entails the right to spend in behalf of our views.

Scarcely noticed in the general commotion is the practices of many of our labor unions. Most especially unnoticed is the finding of the Supreme Court in *Beck* v. *Communications Workers of America* (1988), which held that a union member is entitled to demand from his union a refund of his share of any moneys given by the union to promote a political position with which that worker is not in sympathy. At the time, accounting work done on the Communications Workers of America established that 79 per cent of all the moneys paid into the union went out in the form of political contributions, all of them, of course, to the Democratic Party or worse.

The legal work in the *Beck* case was done by the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation, which was organized, more or less inevitably, in consequence of the American Civil Liberties Union's decision a generation ago to avert its gaze any time a labor union trespassed on rights guaranteed by the First Amendment. The Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation insisted that Americans had rights even if they belonged to a labor union; whence the *Beck* decision and, before that, the decision granting journalists the right to independence from union rules (*Buckley* v. *AFTRA*). And then early this year there came another decision, handed down by Federal District Court Judge Paul Niemeyer of Baltimore, which extended the rights of *Beck* to plaintiffs who are voluntary members of a union: they have the right, Judge Niemeyer ruled, to reimbursement of any sums spent to forward uncongenial causes. And on top of that, the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in May that "full disclosure of financial information" by union officials is required in order to give the union member some idea of where the money is going. A union can intimidate its membership by airily pretending that all dues collected went in to the process of collective bargaining. From now on, the unions are supposed to itemize their expenses even as all citizens must when facing the Internal Revenue Service.

What is holding up universal emancipation is, very simply, the leadership of the unions (which pretends that *Beck* never existed) and the National Labor Relations Board, which is a kind of blood-fraternity made up of union enthusiasts. The *Mobile Press Register* editorialized early this year as follows: "The National Labor Relations Board, the agency responsible for enforcement of the [*Beck*] decision, has not only ignored the ruling but keeps telling workers that they must pay their full union dues in order to keep their jobs. This wanton program of disinformation was uncovered by the National Right to Work Committee last year in an undercover survey that showed some 75 per cent of NLRB staffers contacted nationwide told telephone callers that they must pay full union dues, not just the amount needed to finance collective-bargaining activities. More than half the NLRB staffers also told a right-to-work committee investigator that he would have to join a union to hold a job rather than simply pay dues amounting to what collective bargaining costs."

That union practices flout democratic practice is borne out by the figures. We know that nearly 50 per cent of labor-union members voted for Reagan and for Bush: but their money was going to Carter, Mondale, and Dukakis. Moreover, some unions engage in violence in order to advance their hegemonies. An employee of Rockwell International in Los Angeles was directly threatened when he organized nearly one hundred fellow workers to press their *Beck*-decision rights. But the courts are less patient than many of them used to be. The state Court of Appeals in Texas reinstated $1.1 million in damages assessed against a union for violence against a worker.

The more general question of how to regulate campaign spending frustrates the postulates of a free society. If Mr. Gotrocks wants to spend $10 million to advance his own (or somebody else's) candidacy, it requires judicial tightrope-walking to figure out just how you can keep him from doing this. But the floor of all debate has got to be that no one should be made to contribute against his will, or at the risk of losing his job. *Beck* should be made as famous as the Bill of Rights, one of which it is. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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OFF THE RECORD

Iraq and a Hard Place. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait might not have taken Western observers by surprise had they paid attention to a key participant in meetings in early August between Iraqi and Kuwaiti officials in Jeddah. This was Ali Al-Hassan, a cousin of Saddam Hussein, who is Iraq's minister of local government. Mr. Al-Hassan was in charge of Iraq's chemical-warfare effort and its savage attacks on the country's Kurdish minority. His preferred *modus operandi* in carrying out that task was to give dissident villages three hours' notice to "mend their ways" and then follow up with outright annihilation. It was not lost on the rulers of Bahrain and Qatar that Hussein chose Mr. Al-Hassan to deliver his messages to them after the Jeddah meeting.

Better Here than in Philadelphia. The editorial-page editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, David Boldt, set off a firestorm when he accused the Catholic Church of being "un-American." He did so in an op-ed piece defending a cartoon that depicted a menacing bishop telling a tiny Governor James Florio (N.J.), "Thou shalt take our doctrine on abortion and thou shalt shove it down the throats of *all* thine constituents." The immediate cause of the assault was the announcement by Bishop James McHugh of nearby Camden, New Jersey, that pro-choice Catholic politicians would no longer receive honors or speak at Church functions. After some public sparring the *Inquirer* agreed to a high-level pow-wow between Mr. Boldt & Co., Bishop McHugh, and Archbishop Anthony Bevilacqua of Philadelphia. Although Mr. Boldt did not back off (he says the bishops are guilty of "spiritual extortion"), apparently his readers aren't so sure, judging from the negative mail coming into the *Inquirer*'s offices. Cato hears Bishop McHugh—who recently received a phone call from an irate Mario Cuomo over the same issue—has been getting a flood of letters from people saying they are delighted to see a U.S. bishop standing tall.

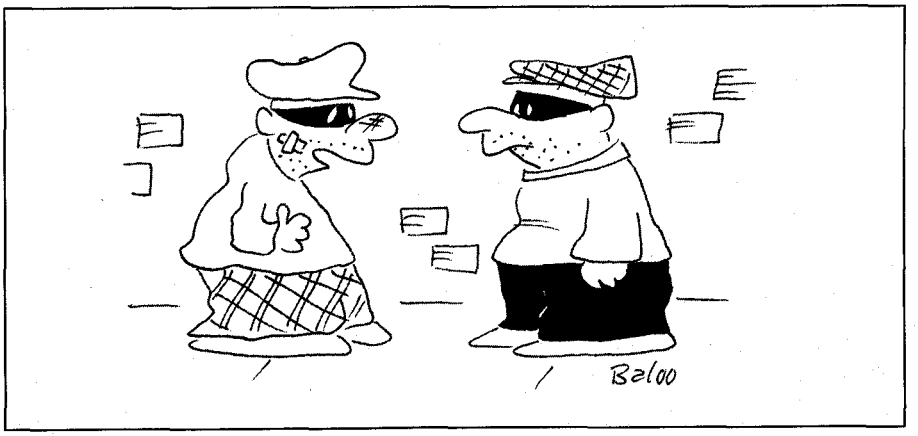
The Gay Nineties. For the signing of the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, the Bush Administration enraged conservatives by inviting gay activists to the public ceremony. During the aftershock, word went around that no one knew how it had happened—and that it wouldn't happen again.

So how come a July 27 headline in the *Washington Post* read, "Homosexuals Officially Welcome at White House Ceremonies"? The article was pegged to the signing of the Disabilities Act, which gays have endorsed because it treats those with AIDS (or even suspected of having AIDS) as disabled, and therefore protected. Before the signing, deputy press secretary Alixe Glen said no homosexual activists would be invited. After the signing and a photo in the *Washington Blade* showing the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's Peri Jude Radecic at the ceremony, Cato called for an update and was informed that Miss Glen was out of town. An intern explained that the activists had been invited as "individuals" and not as representatives of gay organizations. Oh.

Poor Relations. In yet another move bound to alienate a key constituency, the White House fired Doug Wead as the Administration's liaison to the evangelical community (whose members gave George Bush 83 per cent of their vote in 1988). In that position Mr. Wead ran afoul of feminist Bobbie Kilberg, another liaison official, who outranked Mr. Wead and clashed with him over issues such as child care and White House invitations to gay activists. The issue is not Mr. Wead personally, but the high-handed manner with which the Bush Administration has treated the one representative of evangelical concerns.

Indeed, evangelical displeasure with the GOP has been simmering for some time—President Bush was disinvited from the June Southern Baptists' Convention in Louisiana (after soliciting the invitation himself) because of Administration overtures to gay-rights activists—and Mr. Wead's firing is being publicized deep and wide among evangelical groups. Leigh Ann Metzger will take Mr. Wead's place, but repairing the damage will require more than a good replacement: Christian groups want to know what White House policy is on invitations to homosexual activists.

Out of Sight, Out of Mind. Remember Bill Lucas, whose nomination to head the civil-rights division of the Justice Department was mau-maued by the Democrats last year? The self-made former Wayne County executive—the father of three doctors—is a made-for-TV story, but instead of having the RNC send Mr. Lucas around the country to help popularize a Republican civil-rights agenda based on opportunity, the Administration has shunted him off to a dark corner of the Justice Department, unwanted and untapped. The signal sent to the Left is unmistakable: put up enough of a fight and the White House will fold. —CATO



"I tried to mug a guy and he slugged me—can he do that?"

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THE KISS OF DEATH?

We now import more than 40 percent of all the oil we use, and that percentage continues to grow. This excessive dependence on foreign oil could poison America's economy and our national security if our supply were ever disrupted.

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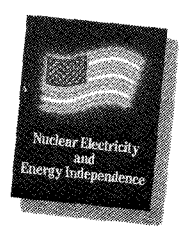
For a free booklet on nuclear energy, write to the U.S. Council for Energy Awareness, P.O. Box 66080, Dept. SK18, Washington, D.C. 20035.



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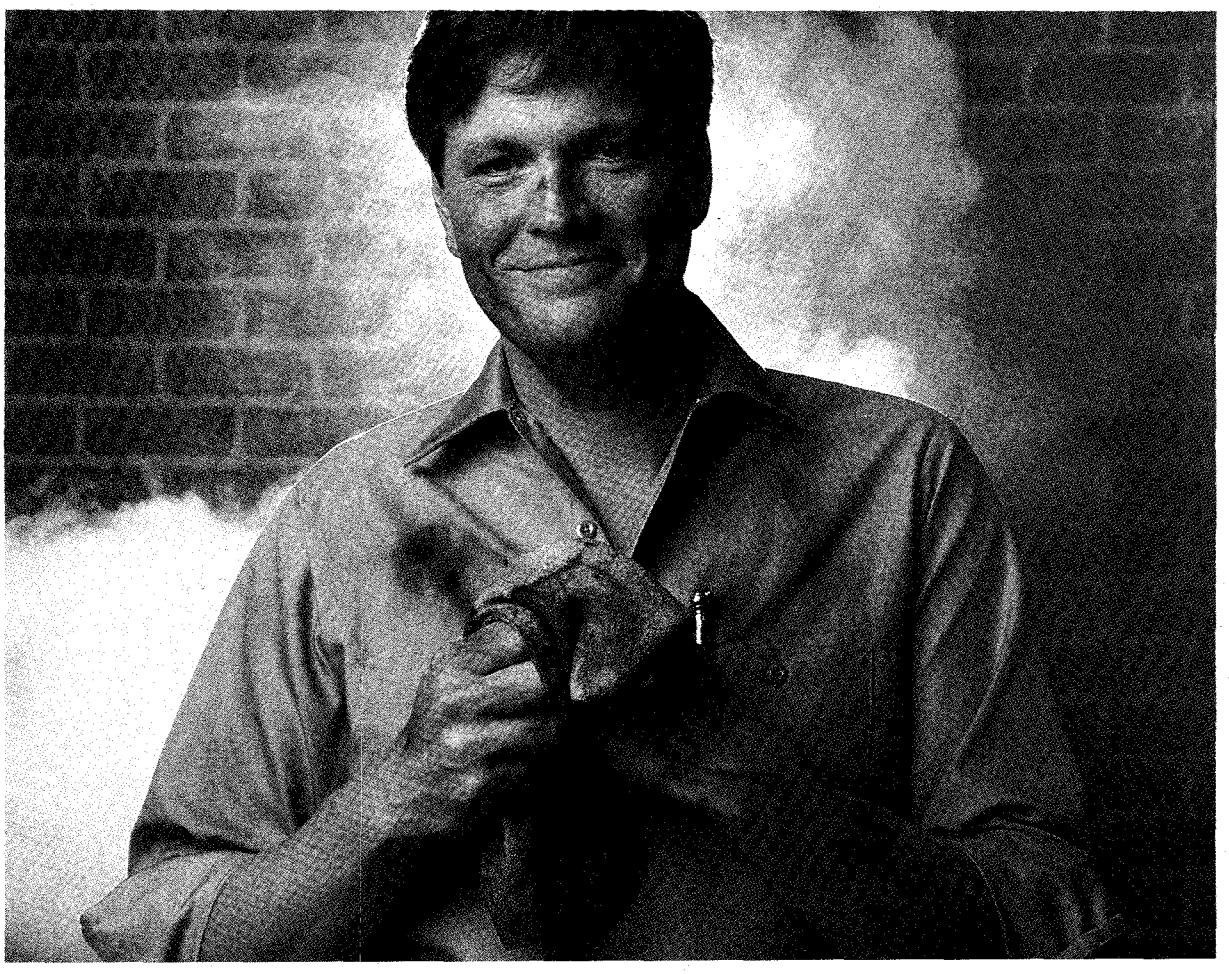
THE ART OF SUPERIOR PERFORMANCE



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